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THE

HISTORY

OF

SCOTLAND,

DURING THE REIGNS OF

QUEEN MARY, AND KING JAMES VI.

TILL

HIS ACCESSION TO THE CROWN OF ENGLAND.

WITH

A REVIEW of the SCOTTISH HISTORY
previous to that Period;

And an APPENDIX containing ORIGINAL PAPERS.

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IN THREE VOLUMES.

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THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK FIFTH.

CONTENTS.

Deliberation of the Scottiſh Nobles. Impriſonment of the Queen. Interpoſition of Elizabeth. The reſignation of the Queen of Scotland. James VI. crowned. Murray Regent. Fate of Bothwell. A Parliament. Eſcape of Queen Mary. Battle of Langside. The Queen's flight into England. Art and perfidy of Elizabeth. Mary carried to Bolton. Her conduct. A Parliament. The conference at York. Its removal to Weſtminſter. Mary demands an audience of Elizabeth. The accuſation by Murray. Harſh treatment of Mary. Diſſimulation of Elizabeth. Diſturbances in Scotland. Scheme of Norfolk. Diſcovered by Elizabeth. Secretary Maitland impriſoned by Murray. Rebellion in the north of England. Conſpiracy to deliver up the Queen of Scotland to Murray. His death and character.

THE confederate lords had proceeded to ſuch extremities againſt their ſovereign, that it now became almoſt impoſſible for them either to ſtop ſhort, or to purſue a courſe leſs violent. Many of the nobles had refuſed to concur with them in their enterpriſe; others openly condemned it. A ſmall circumſtance might abate that indignation with which the multitude were at preſent animated againſt the queen, and deprive them of that popular applauſe which was the chief foundation of their power. Theſe conſiderations inclined ſome of them to treat the queen with great lenity.

But, on the other hand, Mary's affection for Bothwell continued as violent as ever; ſhe obſtinately refuſed to hearken to any propoſal for diſſolving their mar-

riage, and determined not to abandon a man for whose love she had already sacrificed so much *. If they should allow her to recover the supreme power, the first exertion of it would be to recal Bothwell; and they had reason, both from his resentment, from her conduct, and from their own, to expect the severest effects of her vengeance. These considerations surmounted every other motive; and reckoning themselves absolved, by Mary's incurable attachment to Bothwell, from the engagements which they had comeunder when she yielded herself a prisoner, they, without regarding the duty which they owed her as their queen, and without consulting the rest of the nobles, carried her next evening, under a strong guard, to the castle of Lochleven, and signed a warrant to William Douglas, the owner of it, to detain her as a prisoner. This castle is situated on a small island, in the middle of a lake. Douglas, to whom it belonged, was a near relation of Morton's, and had married the earl of Murray's mother. In this place, under strict custody, with a few attendants, and subjected to the insults of a haughty woman, who boasted daily of being the lawful wife of James V. Mary suffered all the rigour and miseries of captivity †.

Immediately after the queen's imprisonment, the confederates were at the utmost pains to strengthen their party; they entered into new bonds of association; they assumed the title of *lords of the secret council*, and without any other right, arrogated to themselves the whole regal authority. One of their first acts of power was to search the city of Edinburgh for those who were concerned in the murder of the king. This shew of zeal gained reputation to themselves, and threw an oblique reflection on the queen for her remissness. Several suspected persons were seized. Captain Blackadder and three others were condemned and executed. But no discovery of importance was made. If we believe some historians, they were convicted by sufficient evidence. If we give credit to others, their sentence was unjust,

* Keith, 419, 446, 449. Melv. 167. See Appendix, No. XXII. † Keith, 403. Note *(b.)*

and they denied, with their laſt breath, any knowledge of the crime for which they ſuffered *.

An unexpected accident, however, put into the hands of Mary's enemies what they deemed the fulleſt evidence of her guilt. Bothwell having left in the caſtle of Edinburgh a caſket, containing ſeveral ſonnets and letters written with the queen's own hand, he now ſent one of his confidents to bring to him this precious depoſite; but, as his meſſenger returned, he was intercepted, and the caſket ſeized by Morton †. The contents of it were always produced by the party as the moſt ample juſtification of their own conduct, and the moſt unanſwerable proof of their not having loaded their ſovereign with the imputation of imaginary crimes ‡.

But the confederates, notwithſtanding their extraordinary ſucceſs, were ſtill far from being perfectly at eaſe. That ſo ſmall a part of the nobles ſhould pretend to diſpoſe of the perſon of their ſovereign, or to aſſume the authority which belonged to her, without the concurrence of the reſt, appeared to many of that body to be unprecedented and preſumptuous. Several of theſe were now aſſembled at Hamilton, in order to deliberate what courſe they ſhould hold in this difficult conjuncture. The confederates made ſome attempts towards a coalition with them, but without effect. They employed the mediation of the aſſembly of the church, to draw them to a perſonal interview at Edinburgh, but with no better ſucceſs. That party, however, though its numbers were formidable, and the power of its leaders great, ſoon loſt reputation by the want of unanimity and vigour; all its conſultations evapourated in murmurs and complaints, and no ſcheme was concerted for obſtructing the progreſs of the confederates ‖.

There appeared ſome proſpect of danger from another quarter. This great revolution in Scotland had been carried on without any aid from Elizabeth, and even without her knowledge. *. Though ſhe was far

* Cald. vol. ii. 53. Crawf. Mem. 35. † Anderſ. vol. ii. 92. Good. vol. ii. 90. ‡ See Diſſertation at the end of the Hiſtory. ‖ Keith, 407. * Keith, 415.

from being diſpleaſed at ſeeing the affairs of that kingdom embroiled, or a rival, whom ſhe hated, reduced to diſtreſs; ſhe neither wiſhed that it ſhould be in the power of the one faction entirely to ſuppreſs the other, nor could ſhe view the ſteps taken by the confederates without great offence. Notwithſtanding the popular maxims by which ſhe governed her own ſubjects, her notions of royal prerogative were very exalted. The confederates had, in her opinion, encroached on the authority of their ſovereign, whom they had no right to controul, and had offered violence to her perſon, which it was their duty to eſteem ſacred. They had ſet a dangerous example to other ſubjects; and Mary's cauſe became the common cauſe of princes†. If ever Elizabeth was influenced with regard to the affairs of Scotland by the feelings of her heart, rather than by conſiderations of intereſt, it was on this occaſion. She inſtantly diſpatched Throkmorton into Scotland, with powers to negotiate both with the queen, and with the confederates. In his inſtructions there appears a remarkable ſolicitude for Mary's liberty, and even for her reputation‡. And the choice of an ambaſſador, ſo devoted to the intereſt of the Scottiſh queen, proves this ſolicitude to be ſincere. But neither Elizabeth's friendſhip, nor Throkmorton's zeal, were of much avail to Mary. The confederates foreſaw what would be the effects of theſe good offices; and that the queen, elated by the proſpect of protection, would reject with ſcorn the overtures which they were about to make her. They, for that reaſon, peremptorily denied Throkmorton acceſs to their priſoner. And what propoſitions he made to them in her behalf, they either refuſed, or eluded§.

Meanwhile they deliberated with the utmoſt anxiety concerning the ſettlement of the nation, and the future diſpoſal of the queen's perſon. Elizabeth, obſerving that Throkmorton made no progreſs in his negotiations with them, and that they would liſten to none of his demands in Mary's favour, turned towards that party of the nobles who were aſſembled at Hamilton, incited

† Id. 412, 415. ‡ Id 411. § Keith, 417, 427.

them to take arms in order to reſtore their queen to liberty, and promiſed to aſſiſt them in ſuch an attempt to the utmoſt of her power‖. But they diſcovered no greater union and vigour than formerly, and behaving like men who had given up all concern either for their queen or their country, tamely allowed an inconſiderable part of their body, whether we conſider it with reſpect to numbers or to power, to ſettle the government of the kingdom, and to diſpoſe of the queen's perſon at pleaſure. Many conſultations were held, and various opinions aroſe with regard to each of theſe. Some ſeemed deſirous of adhering to the plan on which the confederacy was at firſt formed; and after puniſhing the murderers of the king, and diſſolving the marriage with Bothwell; after providing for the ſafety of the young prince, and the ſecurity of the proteſtant religion; they propoſed to re-eſtabliſh the queen in the poſſeſſion of her legal authority. The ſucceſs with which their arms had been accompanied inſpired others with bolder and more deſperate thoughts, and nothing leſs would ſatisfy them than the trial, the condemnation, and puniſhment of the queen herſelf, as the principal conſpirator againſt the life of her huſband and the ſafety of her ſon*, the former was Maitland's ſyſtem, and breathed too much of a pacific and moderate ſpirit, to be agreeable to the temper or wiſhes of the party. The latter was recommended by the clergy, and warmly adopted by many laics; but the nobles durſt not or would not venture on ſuch an unprecedented and audacious deed†.

Both parties agreed at laſt upon a ſcheme, neither ſo moderate as the one, nor ſo daring as the other. Mary was to be perſuaded or forced to reſign the crown; the young prince was to be proclaimed king, and the earl of Murray was to be appointed to govern the kingdom,

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‖ See Appendix, No. XXIII. * Keith, 420—422, 582.

† The intention of putting the queen to death ſeems to have been carried on by ſome of her ſubjects: at this time we often find Elizabeth boaſting that Mary owed her life to her interpoſition. Digges's Compl. Amb. 14, &c. See Append. No. XVIII.

during his minority, with the name and authority of regent. With regard to the queen's own perſon, nothing was determined. It ſeems to have been the intention of the confederates to keep her in perpetual impriſonment; but, in order to intimidate herſelf, and to overawe her partiſans, they ſtill reſerved to themſelves the power of proceeding to more violent extremes.

It was obvious to foreſee difficulties in the execution of this plan. Mary was young, ambitious, high-ſpirited, and accuſtomed to command. To induce her to acknowledge her own incapacity for governing, to renounce the dignity and power which ſhe was born to enjoy, to become dependent on her own ſubjects, to conſent to her own bondage, and to inveſt thoſe perſons whom ſhe conſidered as the authors of all her calamities with that honour and authority of which ſhe herſelf was ſtripped, were points hard to be gained. Theſe, however, the confederates attempted, and they did not want means to inſure ſucceſs. Mary had endured, for ſeveral weeks, all the hardſhips and terror of a priſon; no proſpect of liberty appeared; none of her ſubjects had either taken arms, or ſo much as ſolicited her relief*; no perſon in whom ſhe could confide was admitted into her preſence; even the ambaſſadors of the French king, and queen of England, were refuſed acceſs to her. In this ſolitary ſtate, without a counſellor or a friend, under the preſſure of diſtreſs and the apprehenſion of danger, it was natural for a woman to hearken almoſt to any overtures. The confederates took advantage of her condition and of her fears. They employed lord Lindſay, the fierceſt zealot in the party, to communicate their ſcheme to the queen, and to obtain her ſubſcription to thoſe papers which were neceſſary for rendering it effectual. He executed his commiſſion with harſhneſs and brutality. Certain death was before Mary's eyes if ſhe refuſed to comply with his demands. At the ſame time ſhe was informed by ſir Robert Melvil, in the name of Athol, Maitland, and Kirkaldy, the perſons among the confederates who were moſt attentive to her intereſt, that a

* Keith, 425.

resignation extorted by fear, and granted during her imprisonment, was void in law, and might be revoked as soon as she recovered liberty. Throkmorton, by a note which he found means of conveying to her, suggested the same thing†. Deference to their opinion, as well as concern for her own safety, obliged her to yield to every thing which was required, and to sign all the papers which Lindsay presented to her. By one of these, she resigned the crown, renounced all share in the government of the kingdom, and consented to the coronation of the young king. By another, she appointed the earl of Murray regent, and conferred upon him all the powers and privileges of that high office. By a third, she substituted some other nobleman in Murray's place, if he should refuse the honour which was designed for him. Mary, when she subscribed these deeds, was bathed in tears; and while she gave away, as it were with her own hands, the sceptre which she had swayed so long, she felt a pang of grief and indignation, one of the severest, perhaps, which can touch the human heart‡.

The confederates endeavoured to give this resignation all the weight and validity in their power, by proceeding without delay to crown the young prince. The ceremony was performed at Stirling, on the twenty-ninth of July, 1567, with much solemnity, in presence of all the nobles of the party, a considerable number of lesser barons, and a great assembly of the people. From that time all public writs were issued, and the government carried on in the name of James VI‖.

No revolution so great was ever effected with more ease, or by means so unequal to the end. In a warlike age, and in less time than two months, a part of the nobles, who neither possessed the chief power nor the greatest wealth in the nation, and who never brought three thousand men into the field, seized, imprisoned, and dethroned their queen, and without shedding a single drop of blood, set her son, an infant of a year old, on the throne.

† Keith, 425. Note (4). ‡ Keith, 430. ‖ Keith, 439.

During this rapid progreſs of the confederates, the eyes of all the nation were turned on them with aſtoniſhment; and various and contradictory opinions were formed concerning the extraordinary ſteps which they had taken.

Even under the ariſtocratical form of government which prevails in Scotland, ſaid the favourers of the queen, and notwithſtanding the exorbitant privileges of the nobles, the prince poſſeſſes conſiderable power, and his perſon is treated with great veneration. No encroachments ſhould be made on the former, and no injury offered to the latter, but in caſes where the liberty and happineſs of the nation cannot be ſecured by any other means. Such caſes ſeldom exiſt, and it belongs not to any part, but to the whole, or at leaſt to a majority of the ſociety, to judge of their exiſtence. By what action could it be pretended that Mary had invaded the rights or property of her ſubjects, or what ſcheme had ſhe formed againſt the liberty and conſtitution of the kingdom? Were fears, and ſuſpicions, and ſurmiſes, enough to juſtify the impriſoning and the depoſing a queen, to whom the crown deſcended from ſo long a race of monarchs? The principal author of whatever was reckoned culpable in her conduct was now driven from her preſence. The murderers of the king might have been brought to condign puniſhment, the ſafety of the prince have been ſecured, and the proteſtant religion have been eſtabliſhed, without wreſting the ſceptre out of her hands, or condemning her to perpetual impriſonment. Whatever right a free parliament might have had to proceed to ſuch a rigorous concluſion, or whatever name its determinations might have merited, a ſentence of this nature, paſſed by a few nobles, without acknowledging or conſulting the reſt of the nation, muſt be deemed a rebellion againſt the government, and a conſpiracy againſt the perſon of their ſovereign.

The partiſans of the confederates reaſoned very differently. It is evident, ſaid they, that Mary either previouſly gave conſent to the king's murder, or did afterwards approve of that horrid action. Her attachment

to Bothwell, the power and honours with which ſhe loaded him, the manner in which ſhe ſuffered his trial to be carried on, and the indecent ſpeed with which ſhe married a man ſtained with ſo many crimes, raiſe ſtrong ſuſpicions of the former, and put the latter beyond all doubt. To have ſuffered the ſupreme power to continue in the hands of an ambitious man, capable of the moſt atrocious and deſperate actions, would have been diſgraceful to the nation, diſhonourable to the queen, and dangerous to the prince. Recourſe was therefore had to arms. The queen had been compelled to abandon a huſband ſo unworthy of herſelf. But her affection toward him ſtill continuing unabated; her indignation againſt the authors of this ſeparation being viſible, and often expreſſed in the ſtrongeſt terms; they, by reſtoring her to her ancient authority, would have armed her with power to deſtroy themſelves, have enabled her to recal Bothwell, and have afforded her an opportunity of purſuing ſchemes fatal to the nation with greater eagerneſs, and with more ſucceſs. Nothing therefore remained, but by one bold action to deliver themſelves and their country from all future fears. The expedient they had choſen was no leſs reſpectful to the royal blood, than neceſſary for the public ſafety. While one prince was ſet aſide as incapable of governing, the crown was placed on his head who was the undoubted repreſentative of their ancient kings.

Whatever opinion poſterity may form on comparing the arguments of the two contending parties, whatever ſentiments we may entertain concerning the juſtice and neceſſity of that courſe which the confederates held, it cannot be denied that their conduct, ſo far as regarded themſelves, was extremely prudent. Other expedients, leſs rigorous towards Mary, might have been found for ſettling the nation; but, after the injuries which they had already offered the queen, there was none ſo effectual for ſecuring their own ſafety or perpetuating their own power.

To a great part of the nation the conduct of the confederates appeared not only wiſe but juſt. The

king's acceſſion to the throne was every where proclaimed, and his authority ſubmitted to without oppoſition. Though ſeveral of the nobles were ſtill aſſembled at Hamilton, and ſeemed to be entering into ſome combination againſt his government, an aſſociation for ſupporting it was formed, and ſigned by ſo many perſons of power, and influence throughout the nation, as entirely diſcouraged the attempt *.

The return of the earl of Murray about this time, added ſtrength to the party, and gave it a regular and finiſhed form. Soon after the murder of the king, this nobleman had retired into France, upon what pretence hiſtorians do not mention. During his reſidence there, he had held a cloſe correſpondence with the chiefs of the confederacy, and at their deſire he now returned. He ſeemed at firſt unwilling to accept the office of regent. This heſitation cannot be aſcribed to the ſcruples either of diffidence or of duty. Murray wanted neither the abilities nor the ambition which entitled him to aſpire to this high dignity. He had received the firſt accounts of his promotion with the utmoſt ſatisfaction; but by appearing to continue for ſome days in ſuſpenſe, he gained time to view with attention the ground on which he was to act; to balance the ſtrength and reſources of the two contending factions, and to examine whether the foundation on which his future fame and ſucceſs muſt reſt were ſound and firm.

Before he declared his final reſolution, he waited on Mary at Lochleven. This viſit to a ſiſter, and a queen, in a priſon, from which he had neither any intention to relieve her, nor to mitigate the rigour of her confinement, may be mentioned among the circumſtances which diſcover the great want of delicacy and refinement in that age. Murray, who was naturally rough and uncourtly in his manner †, expoſtulated ſo warmly with the queen concerning her paſt conduct, and charged her faults ſo home upon her, that Mary, who had flattered herſelf with more gentle and brotherly treatment from him, melted into tears, and abandoned herſelf entirely

* Anderſ. vol. ii. 231. † Keith, 96.

to deſpair†. This interview, from which Murray could reap no political advantage, and wherein he diſcovered a ſpirit ſo ſevere and unrelenting, may be reckoned among the moſt bitter circumſtances in Mary's life, and is certainly one of the moſt unjuſtifiable ſteps in his conduct.

Soon after his return from Lochleven, Murray accepted the office of regent, and began to act in that character without oppoſition.

Amidſt ſo many great and unexpected events, the fate of Bothwell, the chief cauſe of them all, hath been almoſt forgotten. After his flight from the confederates, he lurked for ſome time among his vaſſals in the neighbourhood of Dunbar. But finding it impoſſible for him to make head in that country againſt his enemies, or even to ſecure himſelf from their purſuit, he fled for ſhelter to his kinſman the biſhop of Murray; and when he, overawed by the confederates, was obliged to abandon him, he retired to the Orkney iſles. Hunted from place to place, deſerted by his friends, and accompanied by a few retainers as deſperate as himſelf, he ſuffered at once the miſeries of infamy and of want. His indigence forced him upon a courſe which added to his infamy. He armed a few ſmall ſhips, which had accompanied him from Dunbar, and attacking every veſſel which fell in his way, endeavoured to procure ſubſiſtence for himſelf and his followers by piracy. Kirkaldy and Murray of Tullibardin were ſent out againſt him by the confederates; and ſurpriſing him while he rode at anchor, ſcattered his ſmall fleet, took a part of it, and obliged him to fly with a ſingle ſhip towards Norway. On that coaſt, he fell in with a veſſel richly laden, and immediately attacked it; the Norwegians ſailed with armed boats to its aſſiſtance, and after a deſperate fight, Bothwell and all his crew were taken priſoners. His name and quality were both unknown, and he was treated at firſt with all the indignity and rigour which the odious crime of piracy me-

† Keith, 445, 446.

rited. His real character was ſoon diſcovered; and though it ſaved him from the infamous death to which his aſſociates were condemned, it could neither procure him liberty, nor mitigate the hardſhips of his impriſonment. He languiſhed ten years in this unhappy condition; melancholy and deſpair deprived him of reaſon, and at laſt he ended his days, unpitied by his countrymen, and unaſſiſted by ſtrangers†. Few men ever accompliſhed their ambitious projects by worſe means, or reaped from them leſs ſatisfaction. The early part of his life was reſtleſs and enterpriſing, full of danger and viciſſitudes. His enjoyment of the grandeur, to which he attained, by ſo many crimes, was extremely ſhort; imbittered by much anxiety, and diſquieted by many fears. In his later years he ſuffered the moſt intolerable calamities, to which the wretched are ſubject, and from which perſons who have moved in ſo high a ſphere are commonly exempted.

The good effects of Murray's acceſſion to the regency were quickly felt. The party forming for the queen was weak, irreſolute, and diſunited; and no ſooner was the government of the kingdom in the hands of a man ſo remarkable both for his abilities and popularity, than the nobles, of whom it was compoſed, loſt all hopes of gaining ground, and began to treat ſeparately with the regent. So many of them were brought to acknowledge the king's authority, that ſcarce any appearance of oppoſition to the eſtabliſhed government was left in the kingdom. Had they adhered to the queen with any firmneſs, it is probable, from Elizabeth's diſpoſition at that time, that ſhe would have afforded them ſuch aſſiſtance as might have enabled them to face their enemies in the field. But there appeared ſo little vigour or harmony in their councils, that ſhe was diſcouraged from eſpouſing their cauſe; and the regent, taking advantage of their ſituation, obliged them to ſubmit to his government, without granting any terms, either to themſelves or to the queen‡.

The regent was no leſs ſucceſsful in his attempt to

† Melv. 168. ‡ Keith, 447, 450, 463.

get into his hands the places of ſtrength in the kingdom. Balfour, the deputy-governor, ſurrendered the caſtle of Edinburgh; and as the reward of his treachery, in deſerting Bothwell his patron, obtained terms of great advantage to himſelf. The governor of Dunbar, who diſcovered more fidelity, was ſoon forced to capitulate: ſome other ſmall forts ſurrendered without reſiſtance.

This face of tranquillity in the nation encouraged the regent to call a meeting of parliament. Nothing was wanting to confirm the king's authority, and the proceedings of the confederates, except the approbation of this ſupreme court; and after the ſucceſs which had attended all their meaſures, there could be little doubt of obtaining it. The numbers that reſorted to an aſſembly which was called to deliberate on matters of ſo much importance were great. The meeting was opened with the utmoſt ſolemnity, and all its acts paſſed with much unanimity. Many, however, of the lords who had diſcovered the warmeſt attachment to the queen were preſent. But they had made their peace with the regent. Argyll, Huntly, and Herries acknowledged openly in parliament that their behaviour towards the king had been undutiful and criminal ‡. Their compliance in this manner, with the meaſures of the regent's party, was either the condition on which they were admitted into favour, or intended as a proof of the ſincerity of their reconcilement.

The parliament granted every thing the confederates could demand, either for the ſafety of their own perſons, or the ſecurity of that form of government which they had eſtabliſhed in the kingdom. Mary's reſignation of the crown was accepted, and declared to be valid. The king's authority and Murray's election were recogniſed and confirmed. The impriſoning the queen, and all the other proceedings of the confederates, were pronounced lawful. The letters which Mary had written to Bothwell were produced, and ſhe was declared to be acceſſary to the murder of the king †. At the ſame time

‡ Anderſ. vol. iv. 153. See Appendix, No. XXIV.
† Good. vol. ii. 66. Anderſ. vol. ii. 206.

all the acts of parliament, of the year one thousand five hundred and sixty, in favour of the protestant religion, were publicly ratified; new statutes to the same purpose were enacted; and nothing that could contribute to root out the remains of popery, or to encourage the growth of the Reformation, was neglected.

It is observable, however, that the same parsimonious spirit prevailed in this parliament as in that of the year 1560. The protestant clergy, notwithstanding many discouragements, and their extreme poverty, had for seven years performed all religious offices in the kingdom. The expedients fallen upon for their subsistence had hitherto proved ineffectual, or were intended to be so. But notwithstanding their known indigence, and the warm remonstrances of the assembly of the church which met this year, the parliament did nothing more for their relief, than prescribe some new regulations concerning the payment of the thirds of benefices, which did not produce any considerable change in the situation of the clergy.

A few days after the dissolution of parliament, four of Bothwell's dependents were convicted of being guilty of the king's murder, and suffered death as traitors. Their confessions brought to light many circumstances relative to the manner of committing that barbarous crime; but they were persons of low rank, and seem not to have been admitted into the secrets of the conspiracy §.

Notwithstanding the universal submission to the regent's authority, there still abounded in the kingdom many secret murmurs and cabals. The partisans of the house of Hamilton reckoned Murray's promotion an injury to the duke of Chatelherault, who, as first prince of the blood, had, in their opinion, an undoubted right to be regent. The length and rigour of Mary's sufferings began to move many to commiserate her case. All who leaned to the ancient opinions in religion dreaded the effects of Murray's zeal. And he, though his abilities were great, did not possess the talents requisite for

§ Anders. vol. ii. 165.

ſoothing the rage or removing the jealouſies of the different factions. By inſinuation or addreſs he might have gained or ſoftened many who had oppoſed him; but he was a ſtranger to theſe gentle arts. His virtues were ſevere; and his deportment towards his equals, eſpecially after his elevation to the regency, diſtant and haughty. This behaviour offended ſome of the nobles, and alarmed others. The queen's faction, which had been ſo eaſily diſperſed, began again to gather and to unite, and was ſecretly favoured by ſome who had hitherto zealouſly concurred with the confederates†.

Such was the favourable diſpoſition of the nation towards the queen, when ſhe recovered her liberty, in a manner no leſs ſurpriſing to her friends, than unexpected by her enemies. Several attempts had been made to procure her an opportunity of eſcaping, which ſome unforeſeen accident, or the vigilance of her keepers, had hitherto diſappointed. At laſt Mary employed all her art to gain George Douglas, her keeper's brother, a youth of eighteen. As her manners were naturally affable and inſinuating, ſhe treated him with the moſt flattering diſtinction; ſhe even allowed him to entertain the moſt ambitious hopes, by letting fall ſome expreſſions as if ſhe would chuſe him for her huſband§. At his age, and in ſuch circumſtances, it was impoſſible to reſiſt ſuch a temptation. He yielded, and drew others into the plot. On Sunday the ſecond of May, while his brother ſat at ſupper, and the reſt of the family were retired to their devotions, one of his accomplices found means to ſteal the keys out of his brother's chamber, and opening the gates to the queen and one of her maids, locked them behind her, and then threw the keys into the lake. Mary ran with precipitation to the boat which was prepared for her, and on reaching the ſhore was received with the utmoſt joy, by Douglas, lord Seaton, and ſir James Hamilton, who, with a few attendants, waited for her. She inſtantly mounted on horſeback, and rode full ſpeed towards Niddrie, lord Seaton's ſeat in Weſt Lothian. She arrived there that night,

† Melv. 179. § Keith, 469, 481. Note.

without being purſued or interrupted. After halting three hours ſhe ſet out for Hamilton; and travelling at the ſame pace, ſhe reached it next morning.

On the firſt news of Mary's eſcape, her friends, whom, in their preſent diſpoſition, a much ſmaller accident would have rouſed, ran to arms. In a few days her court was filled with a great and ſplendid train of nobles, accompanied by ſuch numbers of followers as formed an army above ſix thouſand ſtrong. In their preſence ſhe declared that the reſignation of the crown, and the other deeds which ſhe had ſigned during her impriſonment, were extorted from her by fear. Sir Robert Melvil confirmed her declaration; and on that, as well as on other accounts, a council of the nobles and chief men of her party pronounced all theſe tranſactions void and illegal. At the ſame time an aſſociation was formed for the defence of her perſon and authority, and ſubſcribed by nine earls, nine biſhops, eighteen lords, and many gentlemen of diſtinction §. Among them we find ſeveral who had been preſent in the laſt parliament, and who had ſigned the counter aſſociation in defence of the king's government; but ſuch ſudden changes were then ſo common as to be no matter of reproach.

At the time when the queen made her eſcape the regent was at Glaſgow, holding a court of juſtice. An event ſo contrary to their expectations, and ſo fatal to their ſchemes, gave a great ſhock to his adherents. Many of them appeared wavering and irreſolute; others began to carry on private negotiations with the queen; and ſome openly revolted to her ſide. In ſo difficult a juncture, where his own fame, and the being of the party, depended on his choice, the regent's moſt faithful aſſociates were divided in opinion. Some adviſed him to retire, without loſs of time, to Stirling. The queen's army was already ſtrong, and only eight miles diſtant; the adjacent country was full of the friends and dependents of the houſe of Hamilton, and other lords of the queen's faction; Glaſgow was a large and unfortified town; his own train conſiſted of no greater number

§ Keith, 475.

than was uſual in times of peace; all theſe reaſons pleaded for a retreat. But on the other hand, arguments were urged of no inconſiderable weight. The citizens of Glaſgow were well affected to the cauſe; the vaſſals of Glencairn, Lennox, and Semple, lay near at hand, and were both numerous and full of zeal; ſuccours might arrive from other parts of the kingdom in a few days; in war, ſucceſs depends upon reputation, as much as upon numbers; reputation is gained or loſt by the firſt ſtep one takes. In his circumſtances, a retreat would be attended with all the ignominy of a flight, and would at once diſpirit his friends, and inſpire his enemies with boldneſs. In ſuch dangerous exigencies as this, the ſuperiority of Murray's genius appeared, and enabled him both to chuſe with wiſdom and to act with vigour. He declared againſt retreating, and fixed his head quarters at Glaſgow. And while he amuſed the queen for ſome days, by pretending to hearken to ſome overtures, which ſhe made for accommodating their differences, he was employed, with the utmoſt induſtry, in drawing together his adherents from different parts of the kingdom. He was ſoon in a condition to take the field; and though far inferior to the enemy in number, he confided ſo much in the valour of his troops and the experience of his officers, that he broke off the negotiation, and determined to hazard a battle *.

At the ſame time, the queen's generals had commanded her army to move. Their intention was to conduct her to Dumbarton caſtle, a place of great ſtrength, which the regent had not been able to wreſt out of the hands of lord Fleming the governor; but if the enemy ſhould endeavour to interrupt their march, they reſolved not to decline an engagement. In Mary's ſituation, no reſolution could be more imprudent. A part only of her forces was aſſembled. Huntly, Ogilvie, and the northern clans, were ſoon expected; her ſufferings had removed or diminiſhed the prejudices of many among her ſubjects; the addreſs with which ſhe ſurmounted the dangers that obſtructed her eſcape dazzled and in-

* Buchan. 369.

tereſted the people; the ſudden confluence of ſo many nobles added luſtre to her cauſe; ſhe might aſſuredly depend on the friendſhip and countenance of France; ſhe had reaſon to expect the protection of England; her enemies could not poſſibly look for ſupport from that quarter. She had much to hope from purſuing ſlow and cautious meaſures; they had every thing to fear.

But Mary, whoſe hopes were naturally ſanguine, and her paſſions impetuous, was ſo elevated by her ſudden tranſition from the depth of diſtreſs, to ſuch an unuſual appearance of proſperity, that ſhe never doubted of ſucceſs. Her army, which was almoſt double to the enemy in number, conſiſted chiefly of the Hamiltons and their dependents. Of theſe the archbiſhop of St. Andrews had the chief direction, and hoped, by a victory, not only to cruſh Murray, the ancient enemy of his houſe, but to get the perſon of the queen into his hands, and to oblige her either to marry one of the duke's ſons, or at leaſt to commit the chief direction of her affairs to himſelf. His ambition proved fatal to the queen, to himſelf, and to his family †.

Mary's imprudence in reſolving to fight was not greater than the ill conduct of her generals in the battle. Between the two armies, and on the road towards Dumbarton, there was an eminence called Langſide-hill. This the regent had the precaution to ſeize, and poſted his troops in a ſmall village, and among ſome gardens and incloſures adjacent. In this advantageous ſituation he waited the approach of the enemy, whoſe ſuperiority in cavalry could be of no benefit to them on ſuch broken ground. The Hamiltons, who compoſed the vanguard, ran ſo eagerly to the attack, that they put themſelves out of breath, and left the main battle far behind. The encounter of the ſpearmen was fierce and deſperate; but as the forces of the Hamiltons were expoſed on the one flank, to a continued fire from a body of muſqueteers, attacked on the other by the regent's moſt choice troops, and not ſupported by the reſt of the queen's army, they were ſoon obliged to give ground,

† Anderſ. vol. iv. 32. Melv. 181.

and the rout immediately became univerſal. Few victories, in a civil war, and among a barbarous people, have been purſued with leſs violence, or attended with leſs bloodſhed. Three hundred fell in the field: in the flight very few were killed. The regent and his principal officers rode about, beſeeching the ſoldiers to ſpare their countrymen. The number of priſoners was great, and among them many perſons of diſtinction. The regent marched back to Glaſgow, and returned public thanks to God for this great, and on his ſide, almoſt bloodleſs victory ¶.

During the engagement, Mary ſtood on a hill, at no great diſtance, and beheld all that paſſed in the field, with ſuch emotions of mind as are not eaſily deſcribed. When ſhe ſaw the army, which was her laſt hope, thrown into irretrievable confuſion, her ſpirit, which all her paſt misfortunes had not been able entirely to ſubdue, ſunk altogether. In the utmoſt conſternation, ſhe began her flight, and ſo lively were her impreſſions of fear, that ſhe never cloſed her eyes till ſhe reached the abbey of Dundrenan in Galloway, full ſixty Scottiſh miles from the place of battle ‡.

Theſe revolutions in Mary's fortune had been no leſs rapid than ſingular. In the ſhort ſpace of eleven days, ſhe had been a priſoner at the mercy of her moſt inveterate enemies: ſhe had ſeen a powerful army under her command, and a numerous train of nobles at her devotion; and now ſhe was obliged to fly, in the utmoſt danger of her life, and to lurk, with a few attendants, in a corner of her kingdom. She did not think herſelf ſafe, even in that retreat; and her fears impelled her to an action, the moſt unadviſed as well as the moſt unfortunate in her whole life. This was her retiring into England, a ſtep which, on many accounts, ought to have appeared to her raſh and dangerous.

Before Mary's arrival in Scotland, mutual diſtruſt and jealouſies had ariſen between her and Elizabeth. All their ſubſequent tranſactions had contributed to

¶ Keith, 477. ‡ Id. 481.

exaſperate and inflame theſe paſſions. She had endeavoured, by ſecret negotiations and intrigues, to diſturb the tranquillity of Elizabeth's government, and to advance her own pretenſions to the Engliſh crown. Elizabeth, who poſſeſſed greater power, and acted with leſs reſerve, had openly ſupported Mary's rebellious ſubjects, and fomented all the diſſenſions and troubles in which her reign had been involved. The maxims of policy ſtill authoriſed that queen to purſue the ſame courſe; as by keeping Scotland in confuſion ſhe effectually ſecured the peace of her own kingdom. The regent, after his victory, had marched to Edinburgh; and not knowing what courſe the queen had taken, it was ſeveral days before he thought of purſuing her*. She might have been concealed in that retired corner, among ſubjects devoted to her intereſt, until her party, which was diſperſed rather than broken by the late defeat, ſhould gather ſuch ſtrength that ſhe could again appear with ſafety at their head. There was not any danger which ſhe ought not to have run, rather than throw herſelf into the hands of an enemy, from whom ſhe had already ſuffered ſo many injuries, and who was prompted, both by inclination and by intereſt, to renew them.

But, on the other hand, during Mary's confinement, Elizabeth had declared againſt the proceedings of her ſubjects, and ſolicited for her liberty with a warmth which had all the appearance of ſincerity She had invited her to take refuge in England, and had promiſed to meet her in perſon, and to give her ſuch a reception as was due to a queen and an ally†. Whatever apprehenſion Elizabeth might entertain of Mary's deſigns while ſhe had power in her hands, ſhe was at preſent the object, not of fear, but of pity; and to take advantage of her ſituation, would be both ungenerous and inhumane. The horrors of a priſon were freſh in Mary's memory, and if ſhe ſhould fall a ſecond time into the hands of her ſubjects, there was no injury to which the preſumption of ſucceſs might not embolden

*Crawf. Mem. 59. †Camd. 489. Anderſ. vol. iv. 99. 120.

them to proceed. To attempt eſcaping into France was dangerous, and in her ſituation almoſt impoſſible; nor could ſhe bear the thoughts of appearing as an exile and a fugitive in that kingdom where ſhe had once enjoyed all the ſplendour of a queen. England remained her only aſylum; and in ſpite of the entreaties of lord Herries, Fleming, and her other attendants, who conjured her, even on their knees, not to confide in Elizabeth's promiſes or generoſity, her infatuation was invincible, and ſhe reſolved to fly thither. Herries, by her command, wrote to Lowther, the deputy governor of Carliſle, to know what reception he would give her; and before his anſwer could return, her fear and impatience were ſo great, that ſhe got into a fiſher-boat; and with about twenty attendants landed at Workington in Cumberland, and thence ſhe was conducted with many marks of reſpect to Carliſle *.

So ſoon as Mary arrived in England, ſhe wrote a long letter to the queen, repreſenting, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the injuries which ſhe had ſuffered from her own ſubjects, and imploring that pity and aſſiſtance which her preſent ſituation demanded †. An event ſo extraordinary, and the conduct which might be proper in conſequence of it, drew the attention, and employed the thoughts of Elizabeth and her council. If their deliberations had been influenced by conſiderations of juſtice or generoſity alone, they would not have found them long or intricate. A queen, vanquiſhed by her own ſubjects, and threatened by them with the loſs of her liberty, or of her life, had fled from their violence, and thrown herſelf into the arms of her neareſt neighbour and ally, from whom ſhe had received repeated aſſurances of friendſhip and protection. Theſe circumſtances entitled her to reſpect and to compaſſion, and required that ſhe ſhould either be reſtored to her own kingdom, or at leaſt be left at full liberty to ſeek aid from any other quarter. But with Elizabeth and her counſellors the queſtion was not, what was moſt juſt

* Keith, 483. Anderſ. vol. iv. 2. † Id. 29.

or generous, but what was moſt beneficial to herſelf, and to the Engliſh nation. Three different reſolutions might have been taken with regard to the queen of Scots. To reinſtate her in her throne was one; to allow her to retire into France was another; to detain her in England was a third. Each of theſe drew conſequences after it, of the utmoſt importance, which were examined, as appears from papers ſtill extant‡, with that minute accuracy which Elizabeth's miniſters employed in all their conſultations upon affairs of moment.

To reſtore Mary to the full exerciſe of the royal authority in Scotland, they obſerved, would render her more powerful than ever. The nobles who were moſt firmly attached to the Engliſh intereſt would quickly feel the utmoſt weight of her reſentment. And as the gratitude of princes is ſeldom ſtrong or laſting, regard to her own intereſt might ſoon efface the memory of her obligations to Elizabeth, and prompt her to renew the alliance of the Scottiſh nation with France, and revive her own pretenſions to the Engliſh crown. Nor was it poſſible to fetter and circumſcribe the Scottiſh queen by any conditions that would prevent theſe dangers. Her party in Scotland was numerous and powerful. Her return, even without any ſupport from England, would inſpire her friends with new zeal and courage; a ſingle victory might give them the ſuperiority, which they had loſt by a ſingle defeat, and render Mary a more formidable rival than ever to Elizabeth.

The dangers ariſing from ſuffering Mary to retire into France, were no leſs obvious. The French king could not refuſe his aſſiſtance towards reſtoring his ſiſter and ally to her throne. Elizabeth would once more ſee a foreign army in the iſland, overawing the Scots, and ready to enter her kingdom; and if the commotions in France, on account of religion, were ſettled, the princes of Lorrain might reſume their ambitious projects, and the united forces of France and Scotland might invade England where it is weakeſt and moſt defenceleſs.

Nothing therefore remained but to detain her in

‡ Anderſ. vol. iv. 34, 99, 102.

England, and to permit her either to live at liberty there, or to confine her in a priſon. The former was a dangerous experiment. Her court would become a place of reſort to all the Roman catholics, to the diſaffected, and to the lovers of innovation. Though Elizabeth affected to repreſent Mary's pretenſions to the Engliſh crown as altogether extravagant and ill-founded, ſhe was not ignorant that they did not appear in that light to the nation, and that many thought them preferable even to her own title. If the activity of her emiſſaries had gained her ſo many abettors, her own perſonal influence was much more to be dreaded; her beauty, her addreſs, her ſufferings, by the admiration and pity which they would excite, could not fail of making many converts to her party †.

It was indeed to be apprehended that the treating Mary as a priſoner would excite univerſal indignation againſt Elizabeth, and that by this unexampled ſeverity towards a queen, who implored, and to whom ſhe had promiſed her protection, ſhe would forfeit the praiſe of juſtice and humanity, which was hitherto due to her adminiſtration. But the Engliſh monarchs were often ſo ſolicitous to ſecure their kingdom againſt the Scots, as to be little ſcrupulous about the means which they employed for that purpoſe. Henry IV. had ſeized the heir of the crown of Scotland, who was forced by the violence of a ſtorm to take refuge in one of the ports of his kingdom; and, in contempt of the rights of hoſpitality, without regarding his tender age, or the tears and intreaties of his father, detained him a priſoner for many years. This action, though deteſted by poſterity, Elizabeth reſolved now to imitate. Her virtue was not more proof than that of Henry had been, againſt the temptations of intereſt; and the poſſeſſion of a preſent advantage was preferred to the proſpect of future fame. The ſatisfaction which ſhe felt in mortifying a rival, whoſe beauty and accompliſhments ſhe envied, had perhaps no leſs influence than political conſiderations,

† Anderſ. vol. iv. 56, 60.

in bringing her to this reſolution. But at the ſame time, in order to ſcreen herſelf from the cenſure which this conduct merited, and to make her treatment of the Scottiſh queen look like the effect of neceſſity rather than choice, ſhe determined to put on the appearance of concern for her intereſt, and of deep ſympathy with her ſufferings.

With this view ſhe inſtantly deſpatched lord Scroope, warden of the weſt marches, and ſir Francis Knollys, her vice-chamberlain, to the queen of Scots, with letters full of expreſſions of kindneſs and condolence But at the ſame time they had private inſtructions to watch all her motions, and to take care that ſhe ſhould not eſcape into her own kingdom*. On their arrival, Mary demanded a perſonal interview with the queen, that ſhe might lay before her the injuries which ſhe had ſuffered, and receive from her thoſe friendly offices which ſhe had been encouraged to expect. They anſwered, that it was with reluctance this honour was at preſent denied; that while ſhe lay under the imputation of a crime ſo horrid as the murder of her huſband, their miſtreſs to whom ſhe was ſo nearly allied, could not, without bringing a ſtain upon her own reputation, admit her into her preſence; but as ſoon as ſhe had cleared herſelf from that aſperſion, they promiſed her a reception ſuitable to her dignity, and aid proportioned to her diſtreſs †.

Nothing could be more artful than this pretence; and it was the occaſion of leading the queen of Scots into the ſnare in which Elizabeth and her miniſters wiſhed to entangle her. Mary expreſſed the utmoſt ſurpriſe at this unexpected manner of evading her requeſt; but as ſhe could not believe ſo many profeſſions of friendſhip to be void of ſincerity, ſhe frankly offered to ſubmit her cauſe to the cognizance of Elizabeth, and undertook to produce ſuch proofs of her own innocence, and of the falſehood of the accuſations brought againſt her, as ſhould fully remove the ſcruples, and ſatisfy the delicacy of the Engliſh queen. This was

* Anderſ. vol. iv. 36, 70, 92. †Ibid. vol. iv. 8, 55.

the very point to which Elizabeth laboured to bring the matter. In conſequence of this appeal of the Scottiſh queen, ſhe became the umpire between her and her ſubjects, and foreſaw that ſhe would have it entirely in her own power to protract the inquiry to any length, and to perplex and involve it in endleſs difficulties. In the mean time, ſhe was furniſhed with a plauſible reaſon for keeping her at a diſtance from court, and for refuſing to contribute towards replacing her on the throne. As Mary's conduct had been extremely incautious, and the preſumptions of her guilt were many and ſtrong, it was not impoſſible her ſubjects might make good their charge againſt her; and if this ſhould be the reſult of the inquiry, ſhe would, thenceforth, ceaſe to be the object of regard or of compaſſion, and the treating her with coldneſs and neglect would merit little cenſure. In a matter ſo dark and myſterious there was no probability that Mary could bring proofs of her innocence, ſo inconteſted, as to render the conduct of the Engliſh queen altogether culpable; and, perhaps, impatience under reſtraint, ſuſpicion of Elizabeth's partiality, or the diſcovery of her artifices, might engage her in ſuch cabals as would juſtify the uſing her with greater rigour.

Elizabeth early foreſaw all thoſe advantages which would ariſe from an inquiry into the conduct of the Scottiſh queen carried on under her direction. There was ſome danger, however, that Mary might diſcover her ſecret intentions too ſoon, and by receding from the offer which ſhe had made, endeavour to diſappoint them. But even in that event, ſhe determined not to drop the inquiry, and had thought of ſeveral different expedients for carrying it on. The counteſs of Lennox, convinced that Mary was acceſſary to the murder of her ſon, and thirſting for that vengeance which it was natural for a mother to demand, had implored Elizabeth's juſtice, and ſolicited her, with many tears, in her own name, and in her huſband's, to bring the Scottiſh queen to a trial for that crime*. The pa-

* Camd. 412. Haynes, 469.

rents of the unhappy prince had a juſt right to prefer this accuſation; nor could ſhe, who was their neareſt kinſwoman, be condemned for liſtening to ſo equitable a demand. Beſides, as the Scottiſh nobles openly accuſed Mary of the ſame crime, and pretended to be able to confirm their charge by ſufficient proof, it would be no difficult matter to prevail on them to petition the queen of England to take cognizance of their proceedings againſt their ſovereign; and it was the opinion of the Engliſh council that it would be reaſonable to comply with the requeſt†. At the ſame time the obſolete claim of the ſuperiority of England over Scotland began to be talked of; and on that account it was pretended that the deciſion of the conteſt between Mary and her ſubjects belonged of right to Elizabeth‡. But though Elizabeth revolved all theſe expedients in her mind, and kept them in reſerve to be made uſe of as occaſion might require, ſhe wiſhed that the inquiry into Mary's conduct ſhould appear to be undertaken purely in compliance with her own demand, and in order to vindicate her innocence; and ſo long as that appearance could be preſerved, none of the other expedients were to be employed.

When Mary conſented to ſubmit her cauſe to Elizabeth, ſhe was far from ſuſpecting that any bad conſequences could follow, or that any dangerous pretenſions could be founded on her offer. She expected that Elizabeth herſelf would receive and examine her defences‖; ſhe meant to conſider her as an equal, for whoſe ſatisfaction ſhe was willing to explain any part of her conduct that was liable to cenſure, not to acknowledge her as a ſuperior, before whom ſhe was bound to plead her cauſe. But Elizabeth put a very different ſenſe on Mary's offer. She conſidered herſelf as choſen to be judge in the controverſy between the Scottiſh queen and her ſubjects, and began to act in that capacity. She propoſed to appoint commiſſioners to hear the pleadings of both parties, and wrote to the regent of Scotland to empower proper perſons

†Anderſ. vol. iv. 37. ‡Ibid. ‖Anderſ. vol. iv. 10.

to appear before them, in his name, and to produce what he could allege in vindication of his proceedings againſt his ſovereign.

Mary had hitherto relied with unaccountable credulity on Elizabeth's profeſſions of regard, and expected that ſo many kind ſpeeches would at laſt be accompanied with ſome ſuitable actions. But this propoſal entirely undeceived her. She plainly perceived the artifice of Elizabeth's conduct, and ſaw what a diminution it would be to her own honour to appear on a level with her rebellious ſubjects, and to ſtand together with them at the bar of a ſuperior and a judge. She retracted the offer which ſhe had made, and which had been perverted to a purpoſe ſo contrary to her intention. She demanded with more earneſtneſs than ever to be admitted into Elizabeth's preſence; and wrote to her in a ſtrain very different from what ſhe had formerly uſed, and which fully diſcovers the grief and indignation that preyed on her heart. "In my preſent "ſituation," ſays ſhe, "I neither will nor can reply "to the accuſations of my ſubjects. I am ready, of "my own accord, and out of friendſhip to you, to ſa-"tisfy your ſcruples, and to vindicate my own con-"duct. My ſubjects are not my equals; nor will I, "by ſubmitting my cauſe to a judicial trial, ac-"knowledge them to be ſo. I fled into your "arms, as into thoſe of my neareſt relation and "moſt perfect friend. I did you honour, as I ima-"gined, in chooſing you, preferably to any other "prince, to be the reſtorer of an injured queen. Was "it ever known that a prince was blamed for hearing "in perſon the complaints of thoſe who appealed to "his juſtice againſt the falſe accuſations of their ene-"mies? You admitted into your preſence my baſtard "brother, who had been guilty of rebellion; and you "deny me that honour! God forbid that I ſhould be "the occaſion of bringing any ſtain upon your repu-"tation! I expected that your manner of treating me "would have added luſtre to it. Suffer me either to "implore the aid of other princes whoſe delicacy on "this head will be leſs, and their reſentment of my

" wrongs greater; or let me receive from your hands " that aſſiſtance which it becomes you, more than any " other prince, to grant; and by that benefit bind me " to yourſelf in the indiſſoluble ties of gratitude §."

This letter ſomewhat diſconcerted Elizabeth's plan, but did not divert her from the proſecution of it. She laid the matter before the privy council, and it was there determined, notwithſtanding the intreaties and remonſtrances of the Scottiſh queen, to go on with the inquiry into her conduct, and until that were finiſhed, it was agreed that Elizabeth could not conſiſtently with her own honour, or with the ſafety of her government, either give her the aſſiſtance which ſhe demanded, or permit her to retire out of the kingdom. Leſt ſhe ſhould have an opportunity of eſcaping, while ſhe reſided ſo near Scotland, it was thought adviſable to remove her to ſome place at a greater diſtance from the borders *.

While the Engliſh court was occupied in theſe deliberations, the regent did not neglect to improve the victory at Langſide. That event was of the utmoſt importance to him. It not only drove the queen herſelf out of the kingdom, but left her adherents diſperſed, and without a leader, at his mercy. He ſeemed reſolved, at firſt, to proceed againſt them with the utmoſt rigour. Six perſons of ſome diſtinction, who had been taken priſoners in the battle, were tried and condemned to death as rebels againſt the king's government. They were led to the place of execution, but by the powerful interceſſion of Knox they obtained a pardon. Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh was one of the number, who lived to give both the regent and Knox reaſon to repent of this commendable act of lenity †.

Soon after the regent marched with an army, conſiſting of four thouſand horſe and one thouſand foot, towards the weſt borders. The nobles in this part of the kingdom were all the queen's friends; but as they had not force ſufficient to obſtruct his progreſs, he muſt

§ Anderſ. vol. iv. part i. 94. * Id. ibid. 102.
† Cald. vol. ii. 99.

either have obliged them to ſubmit to the king, or would have laid waſte their lands with fire and ſword. But Elizabeth, whoſe intereſt it was to keep Scotland in confuſion, by preſerving the balance between the two parties, and who was endeavouring to ſoothe the Scottiſh queen by gentle treatment, interpoſed at her deſire. After keeping the field two weeks, the regent, in compliance to the Engliſh ambaſſador, diſmiſſed his forces; and an expedition which might have proved fatal to his opponents, ended with a few acts of ſeverity ‡.

The reſolution of the Engliſh privy council, with regard to Mary's perſon, was ſoon carried into execution; and, without regarding her remonſtrances or complaints, ſhe was conducted to Bolton, a caſtle of lord Scroope's, on the borders of Yorkſhire ¶. In this place, her correſpondence with her friends in Scotland became more difficult, and any proſpect of making her eſcape was entirely cut off. She now felt herſelf to be entirely in Elizabeth's power, and though treated as yet with the reſpect due to a queen, her real condition was that of a priſoner. Mary knew what it was to be deprived of liberty, and dreaded it as the worſt of all evils. While the remembrance of her late impriſonment was ſtill lively, and the terror of a new one filled her mind, Elizabeth thought it a proper juncture to renew her former propoſition, that ſhe would ſuffer the regent and his adherents to be called into England, and conſent to their being heard in defence of their own conduct *. And on her part, ſhe promiſed, whatever ſhould be the iſſue of this inquiry, to employ all her power and influence towards replacing Mary on her throne, under a few limitations, which were far from being unreaſonable. Fear, impatience, deſpair, as well as this ſoothing promiſe, with which the propoſition was accompanied, induced the Scottiſh queen to comply.

In order to perſuade Elizabeth that ſhe deſired no-

‡ Cald. vol. ii. 99. ¶ Anderſ. vol. iv. 14. See Appendix, No. XXV. * Anderſ. iv. part i. p. 11, 12, &c. Haynes, 468, &c.

thing ſo much as to render the union betwixt them as cloſe as poſſible, ſhe ſhewed a diſpoſition to relax ſomewhat in one point; with regard to which, during all her paſt and ſubſequent misfortunes, ſhe was uniformly inflexible. She expreſſed a great veneration for the liturgy of the church of England; ſhe was often preſent at religious worſhip, according to the rites of the reformed church; made choice of a proteſtant clergyman to be her chaplain; heard him preach againſt the errors of popery with attention and ſeeming pleaſure; and diſcovered all the ſymptoms of an approaching converſion*. Such was Mary's known and bigotted attachment to the popiſh religion, that it is impoſſible to believe her ſincere in this part of her conduct; nor can any thing mark more ſtrongly the wretchedneſs of her condition, and the exceſs of her fears, than that they betrayed her into diſſimulation, in a matter concerning which her ſentiments were ſcrupulouſly delicate.

At this time the regent called a parliament, in order to proceed to the forfeiture of thoſe who refuſed to acknowledge the king's authority. The queen's faction was alarmed, and Argyll and Huntly, whom Mary had appointed her lieutenants, the one in the ſouth, and the other in the north of Scotland, began to aſſemble forces to obſtruct this meeting. Compaſſion for the queen, and envy at thoſe who governed in the king's name, had added ſo much ſtrength to the party, that the regent would have found it difficult to withſtand its efforts. But as Mary had ſubmitted her cauſe to Elizabeth, ſhe could not refuſe, at her deſire, to command her friends to lay down their arms, and to wait patiently until matters were brought to a deciſion in England. By procuring this ceſſation of arms, Elizabeth afforded as ſeaſonable relief to the regent's faction as ſhe had formerly given to the queen's†.

The regent, however, would not conſent, even at Elizabeth's requeſt, to put off the meeting of parliament§.

*And. vol. iv. part. i. 113. Haynes, 509. See Ap. No. XXVI. †And. vol. iv. 125. §See Ap No. XXVII.

But we may aſcribe to her influence, as well as to the eloquence of Maitland, who laboured to prevent the one half of his countrymen from exterminating the other, any appearances of moderation which this parliament diſcovered in its proceedings. The moſt violent opponents of the king's government were forfeited; the reſt were allowed ſtill to hope for favour.

No ſooner did the queen of Scots ſubmit her cauſe to her rival, than Elizabeth required the regent to ſend to York deputies properly inſtructed for vindicating his conduct in preſence of her commiſſioners. It was not without heſitation and anxiety that the regent conſented to this meaſure. His authority was already eſtabliſhed in Scotland, and confirmed by parliament. To ſuffer its validity now to be called in queſtion, and ſubjected to a foreign juriſdiction, was extremely mortifying. To accuſe his ſovereign before ſtrangers, the ancient enemies of the Scottiſh name, was an odious taſk. To fail in this accuſation was dangerous; to ſucceed in it was diſgraceful. He dreaded the interpoſition of the French king in its behalf. In his ſituation, and in a matter which Elizabeth had ſo much at heart, her commands were neither to be diſputed nor diſobeyed ‡.

The neceſſity of repairing in perſon to York added to the ignominy of the ſtep which he was obliged to take. All his aſſociates declined the office; they were unwilling to expoſe themſelves to the odium and danger with which it was eaſy to foreſee that the diſcharge of it would be attended, unleſs he himſelf conſented to ſhare theſe in common with them. The earl of Morton, Bothwell biſhop of Orkney, Pitcairn commendator of Dunfermling, and lord Lindſay, were joined with him in commiſſion. Macgill of Rankeilor, and Balnaves of Halhill, two eminent civilians, George Buchanan, Murray's faithful adherent, a man whoſe genius did honour to the age, Maitland, and ſeveral others, were appointed to attend them as aſſiſtants. Maitland owed this diſtinction to the regent's fear, rather than to his affection.

‡ Buch. 371. § Buch. 372. See Append. No. XXVIII.

He had warmly remonſtrated againſt this meaſure. He wiſhed his country to continue in friendſhip with England, but not to become dependent on that nation. He was deſirous of re-eſtabliſhing the queen in ſome degree of power, not inconſiſtent with that which the king poſſeſſed; and the regent could not, with ſafety, leave behind him a man whoſe views were ſo contrary to his own, and who by his ſuperior abilities, had acquired an influence in the nation, equal to that which others derived from the antiquity and power of their families*.

Mary empowered Leſly biſhop of Roſs, lord Livingſton, lord Boyd, lord Herries, Gavin Hamilton commendator of Kilwinning, ſir John Gordon of Lochinvar, and ſir James Cockburn of Stirling, to appear in her name†.

Elizabeth nominated Thomas Howard duke of Norfolk, Thomas Ratcliff earl of Suſſex, and ſir Ralph Sadler, her commiſſioners to hear both parties.

The 4th of October, 1568, was the day fixed for opening the *conference*. The great abilities of the deputies on both ſides, the dignity of the judges before whom they were to appear, the high rank of the perſons whoſe cauſe was to be heard, and the importance of the points in diſpute, rendered the whole tranſaction no leſs illuſtrious than it was ſingular. The ſituation in which Elizabeth appeared, on this occaſion, ſtrikes us with an air of magnificence. Her rival, an independent queen, and the heir of an ancient race of monarchs, was a priſoner in her hands, and appeared, by her ambaſſadors, before her tribunal. The regent of Scotland, who repreſented the majeſty, and poſſeſſed the authority of a king, ſtood in perſon at her bar. And the fate of a kingdom, whoſe power her anceſtors had often dreaded, but could never ſubdue, was now abſolutely at her diſpoſal.

The views, however, with which the ſeveral parties conſented to this conference, and the iſſue to which they expected to bring it were extremely different.

Mary's chief object was the recovering of her former authority. This induced her to conſent to a meaſure

* Buch. 371. Anderſ. vol. iv. 35. Melv. 186, 188.
† Anderſ. vol. iv. 33.

againſt which ſhe had long ſtruggled. Elizabeth's promiſes gave her ground for entertaining hopes of being reſtored to her kingdom; in order to which, ſhe would have willingly made many conceſſions to the king's party; and the influence of the Engliſh queen, as well as her own impatience under her preſent ſituation, might have led her to many more‡. The regent aimed at nothing but ſecuring Elizabeth's protection to his party, and ſeems not to have had the moſt diſtant thoughts of coming to any compoſition with Mary. Elizabeth's views were more various, and her ſchemes more intricate. She ſeemed to be full of concern for Mary's honour, and ſolicitous that ſhe ſhould wipe off the aſperſions which blemiſhed her character. This ſhe pretended to be the intention of the conference; amuſing Mary, and eluding the ſolicitations of the French and Spaniſh ambaſſadors in her behalf, by repeated promiſes of aſſiſting her, as ſoon as ſhe could venture to do ſo without bringing diſgrace upon herſelf. But, under this veil of friendſhip and generoſity, Elizabeth concealed ſentiments of a different nature. She expected that the regent would accuſe Mary of being acceſſary to the murder of her huſband. She encouraged him, as far as decency would permit, to take this deſperate ſtep†. And as this accuſation might terminate in two different ways, ſhe had concerted meaſures for her future conduct ſuitable to each of theſe. If the charge againſt Mary ſhould appear to be well-founded, ſhe reſolved to pronounce her unworthy of wearing a crown, and to declare that ſhe would never burden her own conſcience with the guilt of an action ſo deteſtable as the reſtoring her to her kingdom†. If it ſhould happen, that what her accuſers alleged did not amount to a proof of guilt, but only of mal-adminiſtration, ſhe determined to ſet on foot a treaty for reſtoring her, but on ſuch conditions as would render her forever dependent on England, and the ſlave of her own ſubjects§ As every ſtep in the progreſs of

‡ Anderſ. vol. iv. part ii. 33. † And. vol. iv. part ii. 11. 45. Haynes, 487. † And. vol. iv. part. ii. 11. § Ib. 16.

the conference, as well as the final result of it, was in Elizabeth's own power, she would still be at liberty to chuse which of these courses she would hold; or if there appeared to be any danger or inconveniency in pursuing either of them, she might protract the whole cause by endless delays, and involve it in inextricable perplexity.

The conference, however, was opened with much solemnity. But the very first step discovered it to be Elizabeth's intention to inflame, rather than to extinguish, the dissensions and animosities among the Scots. No endeavours were used to reconcile the contending parties, or to mollify the fierceness of their hatred, by bringing the queen to offer pardon for what was past, or her subjects to promise more dutiful obedience for the future. On the contrary, Mary's commissioners were permitted to prefer a complaint against the regent and his party, containing an enumeration of their treasonable actions, of their seizing her person by force of arms, committing her to prison, compelling her to resign the crown, and making use of her son's name to colour their usurpation of the whole royal authority; and of all these enormities they required such speedy and effectual redress, as the injuries of one queen demanded from the justice of another*.

It was then expected that the regent would have disclosed all the circumstances of that unnatural crime to which he pretended the queen had been accessory, and would have produced evidence in support of his charge. But, far from accusing Mary, the regent did not even answer the complaints brought against himself. He discovered a reluctance at undertaking that office, and started many doubts and scruples, with regard to which he demanded to be resolved by Elizabeth herself†. His reserve and hesitation were no less surprising to the greater part of the English commissioners than to his own associates. They knew that he could not vindicate his own conduct without charging the murder upon the queen, and he had not hitherto shown any extraordinary delicacy on that head. An intrigue, however, had

* Anders. vol. iv. part. ii 52. † Haynes, 478.

been ſecretly carried on, ſince his arrival at York, which explains this myſtery.

The duke of Norfolk was at that time the moſt powerful and moſt popular man in England. His wife was lately dead; and he began already to form a project, which he afterwards more openly avowed, of mounting the throne of Scotland, by a marriage with the queen of Scots. He ſaw the infamy which would be the conſequence of a public accuſation againſt Mary, and how prejudicial it might be to her pretenſions to the Engliſh ſucceſſion. In order to ſave her from this cruel mortification, he applied to Maitland, and expreſſed his aſtoniſhment at ſeeing a man of ſo much reputation for wiſdom concurring with the regent in a meaſure ſo diſhonourable to themſelves, to their queen, and to their country; ſubmitting the public tranſactions of the nation to the judgment of foreigners; and publiſhing the ignominy, and expoſing the faults of their ſovereign, which they were bound in good policy, as well as in duty, to conceal and to cover. It was eaſy for Maitland, whoſe ſentiments were the ſame with the duke's, to vindicate his own conduct. He aſſured him, that he had employed all his credit to diſſuade his countrymen from this meaſure, and would ſtill contribute to the utmoſt of his power to divert them from it. This encouraged Norfolk to communicate the matter to the regent. He repeated and enforced the ſame arguments which he had uſed with Maitland. He warned him of the danger to which he muſt expoſe himſelf by ſuch a violent action as the public accuſation of his ſovereign. Mary would never forgive a man who had endeavoured to fix ſuch a brand of infamy on her character. If ſhe ever recovered any degree of power, his deſtruction would be inevitable, and he would juſtly merit it at her hands. Nor would Elizabeth ſcreen him from this by a public approbation of his conduct. For whatever evidence of Mary's guilt he might produce, ſhe was reſolved to give no definitive ſentence in the cauſe. Let him only demand that the matter ſhould be brought to a deciſion immediately after hearing the proof, and he would be

fully convinced how falſe and inſidious her intentions were, and, by conſequence, how improper it would be for him to appear as the accuſer of his own ſovereign*. The candour which Norfolk ſeemed to diſcover in theſe remonſtrances, as well as the truth which they contained, made a deep impreſſion on the regent. He daily received the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of Mary's willingneſs to be reconciled to him, if he abſtained from accuſing her of ſuch an odious crime, together with the denunciations of her irreconcileable hatred, if he acted a contrary part†. All theſe conſiderations concurred in determining him to alter his purpoſe, and to make trial of the expedient which the duke had ſuggeſted.

He demanded therefore to be informed, before he proceeded farther, whether the Engliſh commiſſioners were empowered to declare the queen guilty by a judicial act; whether they would promiſe to paſs ſentence without delay; whether the queen ſhould be kept under ſuch reſtraint as to prevent her from diſturbing the government now eſtabliſhed in Scotland; and whether Elizabeth, if ſhe approved of the proceedings of the king's party, would engage to protect it for the future‡. The paper containing theſe demands was ſigned by himſelf alone, without communicating it to any of his attendants, except Maitland and Melvil§. Nothing could appear more natural than the regent's ſolicitude to know on what footing he ſtood. To have ventured on a ſtep ſo uncommon and dangerous, as the accuſing his ſovereign, without previouſly aſcertaining that he might take it with ſafety, would have been unpardonable imprudence. But Elizabeth, who did not expect that he would have moved any ſuch difficulty, had not empowered her commiſſioners to give him that ſatisfaction which he demanded. It became neceſſary to tranſmit the articles to herſelf, and by the light in which Norfolk placed them, it is eaſy to ſee that he wiſhed that they ſhould make no ſlight impreſſion on

* Melv. 187. Haynes, 573. † Anderſ. vol. iv. part ii. 77. Good. vol. ii. 157. See Append. No. XXIX. ‡ Anderſ. vol. iv. 55. § Anderſ. vol. iv. 56 Melv. 190.

Elizabeth and her miniſters. "Think not the Scots," ſaid he, "over-ſcrupulous or preciſe. Let us view their "conduct as we would wiſh our own to be viewed in "a like ſituation. The game they play is deep; their "eſtates, their lives, their honour are at ſtake. It is "now in their own power to be reconciled to their "queen, or to offend her irrecoverably; and in a mat-"ter of ſo much importance the utmoſt degree of cau-"tion is not exceſſive*."

While the Engliſh commiſſioners waited for fuller inſtructions with regard to the regent's demands, he gave in an anſwer to the complaint which had been offered in the name of the Scottiſh queen. It was expreſſed in terms perfectly conformable to the ſyſtem which he had at that time adopted. It contained no inſinuation of the queen's being acceſſory to the murder of her huſband; the bitterneſs of ſtyle peculiar to the age was conſiderably abated; and though he pleaded, that the infamy of the marriage with Bothwell made it neceſſary to take arms in order to diſſolve it; though Mary's attachment to a man ſo odious juſtified the keeping her for ſome time under reſtraint; yet nothing more was ſaid on theſe ſubjects than was barely requiſite in his own defence. The queen's commiſſioners did not fail to reply†. But while the article with regard to the murder remained untouched, theſe were only ſkirmiſhes at a diſtance, of no conſequence towards ending the conteſt, and were little regarded by Elizabeth or her commiſſioners.

The conference had hitherto been conducted in a manner which diſappointed Elizabeth's views, and produced none of thoſe diſcoveries which ſhe had expected. The diſtance between York and London, and the neceſſity of conſulting her upon every difficulty which occurred, conſumed much time. Norfolk's negotiation with the Scottiſh regent, however ſecretly carried on, was not, in all probability, unknown to a princeſs ſo remarkable for her ſagacity in penetrating the deſigns of

* Anderſ. vol. iv. 77. † Anderſ. vol. iv. part ii. 64, 90.

her enemies, and ſeeing through their deepeſt ſchemes†. Inſtead, therefore, of returning any anſwer to the regent's demands, ſhe reſolved to remove the conference to Weſtminſter, and to appoint new commiſſioners, in whom ſhe could more abſolutely confide. Both the Scottiſh queen and the regent were brought without difficulty to approve of this reſolution§.

We often find Mary boaſting of the ſuperiority of her commiſſioners during the conference at York, and how, by the ſtrength of their arguments, they confounded her adverſaries, and ſilenced all their cavils*. The diſpute ſtood, at that time, on a footing which rendered her victory not only apparent, but eaſy. Her participation of the guilt of the king's murder was the only circumſtance which could juſtify the violent proceedings of her ſubjects; and while they induſtriouſly avoided mentioning that, her cauſe gained as much as that of her adverſaries by ſuppreſſing this capital argument.

Elizabeth reſolved that Mary ſhould not enjoy the ſame advantage in the conference to be held at Weſtminſter. She deliberated with the utmoſt anxiety how ſhe might overcome the regent's ſcruples, and perſuade him to accuſe the queen. She conſidered of the moſt proper method for bringing Mary's commiſſioners to anſwer ſuch an accuſation; and as ſhe foreſaw that the promiſes with which it was neceſſary to allure the regent, and which it was impoſſible to conceal from the Scottiſh queen, would naturally exaſperate her to a great degree, ſhe determined to guard her more narrowly than ever; and though lord Scroop had given her no reaſon to diſtruſt his vigilance or fidelity, yet becauſe he was the duke of Norfolk's brother-in-law, ſhe thought it proper to remove the queen as ſoon as poſſible to Tuthbury in Staffordſhire, and to commit her to the keeping of the earl of Shrewſbury, to whom that caſtle belonged†.

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† Good. vol. ii. 160. Anderſ. vol. iii. 24. § Haynes, 4. Anderſ. vol. iv. 94. * Good. vol. 186, 284, 350. † Haynes, 487.

Mary began to ſuſpect the deſign of this ſecond conference; and notwithſtanding the ſatisfaction ſhe expreſſed at ſeeing her cauſe taken more immediately under the queen's own eye ‡, ſhe framed her inſtructions to her commiſſioners in ſuch a manner as to avoid being brought under the neceſſity of anſwering the accuſation of her ſubjects, if they ſhould be ſo deſperate as to exhibit one againſt her §. Theſe ſuſpicions were ſoon confirmed by a circumſtance extremely mortifying. The regent having arrived at London, in order to be preſent at the conference, was immediately admitted into Elizabeth's preſence, and received by her, not only with reſpect, but with affection. This Mary juſtly conſidered as an open declaration of that queen's partiality towards her adverſaries. In the firſt emotions of her reſentment, ſhe wrote to her commiſſioners, and commanded them to complain, in the preſence of the Engliſh nobles and before the ambaſſadors of foreign princes, of the uſage ſhe had hitherto met with, and the additional injuries which ſhe had reaſon to apprehend. Her rebellious ſubjects were allowed acceſs to the queen, ſhe was excluded from her preſence; they enjoyed full liberty, ſhe languiſhed under a long impriſonment; they were encouraged to accuſe her, in defending herſelf ſhe laboured under every diſadvantage. For theſe reaſons ſhe once more renewed her demand of being admitted into the queen's preſence: and if that were denied, ſhe inſtructed them to declare, that ſhe recalled the conſent which ſhe had given to the conference at Weſtminſter, and proteſted that whatever was done there ſhould be held to be null and invalid *.

This, perhaps, was the moſt prudent reſolution Mary could have taken. The pretences on which ſhe declined the conference were plauſible, and the juncture for offering them well choſen. But either the queen's letter did not reach her commiſſioners in due time, or they ſuffered themſelves to be deceived by Elizabeth's

‡ Anderſ. vol. iv. 95. § Good. vol. ii. 349.
* Good. vol. ii. 184.

profeſſions of regard for their miſtreſs, and conſented to the opening of the conference†.

To the commiſſioners who had appeared in her name at York, Elizabeth now added ſir Nicholas Bacon, keeper of the great ſeal, the earls of Arundel and Leiceſter, lord Clinton, and ſir William Cecil‡. The difficulties which obſtructed the proceedings at York were quickly removed. A ſatisfying anſwer was given to the regent's demands; nor was he ſo much diſpoſed to heſitate and raiſe objections as formerly. His negotiations with Norfolk had been diſcovered to Morton by ſome of Mary's attendants, and he had communicated it to Cecil§. His perſonal ſafety, as well as the continuance of his power, depended on Elizabeth. By favouring Mary, ſhe might at any time ruin him; and by a queſtion which ſhe artfully ſtarted, concerning the perſon who had a right, by the law of Scotland, to govern the kingdom during a minority, ſhe let him ſee, that, even without reſtoring the queen, it was an eaſy matter for her to deprive him of the ſupreme direction of affairs‖. Theſe conſiderations, which were powerfully ſeconded by moſt of his attendants, at length determined the regent to produce his accuſation againſt the queen.

He endeavoured to leſſen the obloquy with which he was ſenſible this action would be attended, by proteſting that it was with the utmoſt reluctance he undertook this diſagreeable taſk; that his party had long ſuffered their conduct to be miſconſtrued, and had borne the worſt imputations in ſilence, rather than expoſe the crimes of their ſovereign to the eyes of ſtrangers; but that now the inſolence and importunity of the adverſe faction forced them to publiſh what they had hitherto, though with loſs to themſelves, endeavoured to conceal*. Theſe pretexts are decent; and had the party diſcovered any delicacy or reſerve, with regard to the queen's actions, in the reſt of their conduct, might

† Anderſ. vol. iii. 25. ‡ Id. vol. iv. part ii. 99. § Melv. 191. ‖ Haynes, 484. * Anderſ. vol. iv. part ii 115.

have paſſed for the real principles by which they were influenced. But their former treatment of the queen renders it impoſſible to give any credit to theſe profeſſions. And the regent, it is plain, was drawn by the neceſſity of his affairs, and Elizabeth's artifices, into a ſituation, where no liberty of choice was left him; and was obliged either to acknowledge himſelf to be guilty of rebellion, or to charge Mary with having committed murder.

The accuſation itſelf was conceived in the ſtrongeſt terms. Mary was charged, not only with having conſented to the murder, but with being acceſſary to the contrivance and execution of it. Bothwell, it was pretended, had been ſcreened from the purſuits of juſtice by her favour; and ſhe had formed deſigns no leſs dangerous to the life of the young prince, than ſubverſive of the liberties and conſtitution of the kingdom. If any of theſe crimes ſhould be denied, an offer was made to produce the moſt ample and undoubted evidence in confirmation of the charge *.

At the next meeting of the commiſſioners, the earl of Lennox appeared before them; and after bewailing the tragical and unnatural murder of his ſon, he implored Elizabeth's juſtice againſt the queen of Scots, whom he accuſed upon oath of being the author of that crime, and produced papers, which, as he pretended, would make good what he alleged. The entrance of a new actor on the ſtage ſo opportunely, and at a juncture ſo critical, can ſcarce be imputed to chance. This contrivance was manifeſtly Elizabeth's, in order to increaſe, by this additional accuſation, the infamy of the Scottiſh queen †.

Mary's commiſſioners expreſſed the utmoſt ſurpriſe and indignation at the regent's preſumption, in loading the queen with calumnies which, as they affirmed, ſhe had ſo little merited. But, inſtead of attempting to vindicate her honour, by a reply to the charge, they had recourſe to an article in their inſtructions, which they had formerly neglected to mention in its proper place.

* Anderſ. vol. iv. part ii. 119. † Id. ibid. 222.

They demanded an audience of Elizabeth; and having renewed their miſtreſs's requeſt of a perſonal interview, they proteſted, if that were denied her, againſt all the future proceedings of the commiſſioners†. A proteſtation of this nature, offered juſt at the critical time when ſuch a bold accuſation had been preferred againſt Mary, and when the proofs in ſupport of it were ready to be examined, gave reaſon to ſuſpect that ſhe dreaded the event of that examination. This ſuſpicion received the ſtrongeſt confirmation from another circumſtance; Roſs and Herries, before they were introduced to Elizabeth, in order to make this proteſtation, privately acquainted Leiceſter and Cecil, that as their miſtreſs had from the beginning diſcovered an inclination towards bringing the differences between herſelf and her ſubjects to an amicable accommodation, ſo ſhe was ſtill deſirous, notwithſtanding the regent's audacious accuſation, that they ſhould be terminated in that manner‖.

Such moderation is ſcarce compatible with the ſtrong reſentment which calumniated innocence naturally feels, or with that eagerneſs to vindicate itſelf which it always diſcovers. In Mary's ſituation, an offer ſo ill-timed muſt be conſidered as a confeſſion of the weakneſs of her cauſe. The known character of her commiſſioners, exempts them from the imputation of folly, or the ſuſpicion of treachery. Some ſecret conviction, that the conduct of their miſtreſs could not bear ſo ſtrict a ſcrutiny as muſt be made into it, ſeems to be the moſt probable motive of this imprudent propoſal by which they endeavoured to avoid it.

It appeared in this light to Elizabeth, and afforded her a pretence for rejecting it. She told Mary's commiſſioners, that in the preſent juncture nothing could be ſo diſhonourable to their miſtreſs as an accommodation; and that the matter would ſeem to be huddled up in this manner, merely to ſuppreſs diſcoveries, and to hide their ſhame; nor was it poſſible that ſhe could be

† Id. ibid. 133, 158. &c.

‖ Anderſon, vol. iv. part ii. 134. Cabbala, 157.

admitted with any decency into her preſence, while ſhe lay under the infamy of ſuch a public accuſation.

Upon this repulſe, Mary's commiſſioners withdrew; and as they had declined anſwering, there ſeemed now to be no further reaſon for the regent's producing the proofs in ſupport of his charge. But without getting theſe into her hands, Elizabeth's ſchemes were incomplete; and her artifice for this purpoſe was as mean, but as ſucceſsful, as any ſhe had hitherto employed. She commanded her commiſſioners to teſtify her indignation and diſpleaſure at the regent's preſumption, in forgetting ſo far the duty of a ſubject as to accuſe his ſovereign of ſuch atrocious crimes. He, in order to regain the good opinion of ſuch a powerful protectreſs, offered to ſhew that his accuſations were not malicious nor ill grounded. Then were produced and delivered to the Engliſh commiſſioners the acts of the Scottiſh parliament in confirmation of the regent's authority, and of the queen's reſignation; the confeſſions of the perſons executed for the king's murder; and the fatal caſket which contained the letters, ſonnets, and contracts, that have been already mentioned.

Elizabeth, having got theſe into her poſſeſſion, began to lay aſide the expreſſions of friendſhip and reſpect which ſhe had hitherto uſed in all her letters to the Scottiſh queen. She now wrote to her in ſuch terms, as if the preſumptions of her guilt had amounted almoſt to certainty; ſhe blamed her for refuſing to vindicate herſelf from an accuſation which could not be left unanſwered, without a manifeſt injury to her character; and plainly intimated, that unleſs that were done, no change would be made in her preſent ſituation §. She hoped that ſuch a diſcovery of her ſentiments would intimidate Mary, who was ſcarce recovered from the ſhock of the regent's attack on her reputation, and force her to confirm her reſignation of the crown, to ratify Murray's authority as regent, and to conſent that both herſelf and her ſon ſhould reſide in England, under Engliſh protec-

§ Anderſ. vol. iv. 179, 183. Good. vol. ii. 269.

tion. This ſcheme Elizabeth had much at heart; ſhe propoſed it both to Mary and to her commiſſioners, and neglected no argument nor artifice, that could poſſibly recommend it. Mary ſaw how fatal this would prove to her reputation, to her pretenſions, and even to her perſonal ſafety. She rejected it without heſitation. "Death," ſaid ſhe, "is leſs dreadful than ſuch an ignominious ſtep. Rather than give away, with my own hands, the crown which deſcended to me from my anceſtors, I will part with life; but the laſt words I utter, ſhall be thoſe of a queen of Scotland *."

At the ſame time ſhe ſeems to have been ſenſible how open her reputation lay to cenſure, while ſhe ſuffered ſuch a public accuſation to remain unanſwered; and though the conference was now diſſolved, ſhe empowered her commiſſioners to preſent a reply to the allegations of her enemies, in which ſhe denied, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the crimes imputed to her; and recriminated upon the regent and his party, by accuſing them of having deviſed and executed the murder of the king †. The regent and his aſſociates aſſerted their innocence with great warmth. Mary continued to inſiſt on a perſonal interview, a condition which ſhe knew would never be granted §. Elizabeth urged her to vindicate her own honour. But it is evident from the delays, the evaſions, and ſubterfuges to which both queens had recourſe by turns, that Mary avoided, and Elizabeth did not deſire to make any further progreſs in the inquiry.

The regent was now impatient to return into Scotland, while his adverſaries were endeavouring, in his abſence, to raiſe ſome commotions. Before he ſet out, he was called into the privy council, to receive a final declaration of Elizabeth's ſentiments. Cecil acquainted him, in her name, that on one hand nothing had been objected to his conduct, which ſhe could reckon detrimental to his honour, or inconſiſtent with his duty; nor had he, on the other hand, produced any thing againſt

* Haynes, 497. See App. No. XXX. Good. vol. ii. 274, 301.

† Good. ii. 285. § Ibid. 283. Cabbala, 157.

his ſovereign, on which ſhe could found an unfavourable opinion of her actions; and for this reaſon ſhe reſolved to leave all the affairs of Scotland preciſely in the ſame ſituation in which ſhe had found them at the beginning of the conference. The queen's commiſſioners were diſmiſſed much in the ſame manner *.

After the attention of both nations had been fixed ſo earneſtly on this conference upwards of four months, ſuch a concluſion of the whole appears at firſt ſight trifling and ridiculous. Nothing, however, could be more favourable to Elizabeth's future ſchemes. Notwithſtanding her ſeeming impartiality, ſhe had no thoughts of continuing neuter; nor was ſhe at any loſs on whom to beſtow her protection. Before the regent left London, ſhe ſupplied him with a conſiderable ſum of money, and engaged to ſupport the king's authority to the utmoſt of her power †. Mary, by her own conduct, fortified this reſolution. Enraged at the repeated inſtances of Elizabeth's artifice and deceit, which ſhe had diſcovered during the progreſs of the conference, and deſpairing of ever obtaining any ſuccour from her, ſhe endeavoured to rouſe her own adherents in Scotland to arms, by imputing ſuch deſigns to Elizabeth and Murray as could not fail to inſpire every Scotſman with indignation. Murray, ſhe pretended, had agreed to convey the prince her ſon into England; to ſurrender to Elizabeth the places of greateſt ſtrength in the kingdom; and to acknowledge the dependence of the Scottiſh upon the Engliſh nation. In return for this, he was to be declared the lawful heir of the crown of Scotland; and at the ſame time the queſtion with regard to the Engliſh ſucceſſion was to be decided in favour of the earl of Hartford, who had promiſed to marry one of Cecil's daughters. An account of theſe wild and chimerical projects was ſpread induſtriouſly among the Scots. Elizabeth, perceiving it was calculated of purpoſe to bring her government into diſreputation, laboured to deſtroy its ef-

* Good. ii. 315, 333. † Ibid. 213. Carte, iii. 478.

fects, by a counter-proclamation, and became more diſguſted than ever with the Scottiſh queen*.

The regent, on his return, found the kingdom in the utmoſt tranquillity. But the rage of the queen's adherents, which had been ſuſpended in expectation that the conference in England would terminate to her advantage, was now ready to break out with all the violence of civil war. They were encouraged too by the appearance of a leader whoſe high quality and pretenſions entitled him to great authority in the nation. This was the duke of Chatelherault, who had reſided for ſome years in France, and was now ſent over by that court with a ſmall ſupply of money, in hopes that the preſence of the firſt nobleman in the kingdom would ſtrengthen the queen's party. Elizabeth had detained him in England, for ſome months, under various pretences, but was obliged at laſt to ſuffer him to proceed on his journey. Before his departure, Mary inveſted him with the high dignity of her lieutenant-general in Scotland, together with the fantaſtic title of her adopted father.

The regent did not give him time to form his party into any regular body. He aſſembled an army with his uſual expedition, and marched to Glaſgow. The followers of Argyle and Huntly, who compoſed the chief part of the queen's faction, lying in very diſtant corners of the kingdom, and many of the duke's dependents having fallen or been taken in the battle of Langſide, the ſpirit and ſtrength of his adherents was totally broken, and an accommodation with the regent was the only thing which could prevent the deſtruction of his eſtate and vaſſals. This was effected without difficulty, and on no unreaſonable terms. The duke promiſed to acknowledge the authority both of the king and of the regent; and to claim no juriſdiction in conſequence of the commiſſion which he had received from the queen. The regent bound himſelf to repeal the act which had paſſed for attainting ſeveral of the queen's adherents; to reſtore all who would ſubmit to the king's government to the poſſeſſion of their eſtates and honours; and

* Haynes, 500, 503. See Append. No. XXXI.

to hold a convention, wherein all the differences between the two parties ſhould be ſettled by mutual conſent. The duke gave hoſtages for his faithful performance of the treaty; and, in token of their ſincerity, he and lord Herries accompanied the regent to Stirling, and viſited the young king. The regent ſet at liberty the priſoners taken at Langſide *.

Argyll and Huntly refuſed to be included in this treaty. A ſecret negotiation was carrying on in England, in favour of the captive queen, with ſo much ſucceſs, that her affairs began to wear a better aſpect, and her return into her own kingdom ſeemed to be an event not very diſtant. The French king had lately obtained ſuch advantages over the hugonots, that the extinction of that party appeared to be inevitable; and France, by recovering domeſtic tranquillity, would be no longer prevented from protecting her friends in Britain. Theſe circumſtances not only influenced Argyll and Huntly, but made ſo deep an impreſſion on the duke, that he appeared to be wavering and irreſolute, and plainly diſcovered that he wiſhed to evade the accompliſhment of the treaty. The regent ſaw the danger of allowing the duke to ſhake himſelf looſe, in this manner, from his engagements, and inſtantly formed a reſolution equally bold and politic. He command his guards to ſeize Chatelherault in his own houſe in Edinburgh, whither he had come in order to attend the convention agreed upon; and, regardleſs either of his dignity as the firſt nobleman in the kingdom, and next heir to the crown, or of the promiſes of perſonal ſecurity, on which he had relied, committed him and lord Herries priſoners to the caſtle of Edinburgh †. A blow ſo fatal and unexpected diſpirited the party. Argyll ſubmitted to the king's government, and made his peace with the regent on very eaſy terms; and Huntly being left alone, was at laſt obliged to lay down his arms.

* Cabbala, 161. Crawf. Mem. 106. † Crawf. Mem. 111. Melv. 202.

Soon after, lord Boyd returned into Scotland, and brought letters to the regent, both from the Engliſh and Scottiſh queens. A convention was held at Perth, in order to conſider them. Elizabeth's letter contained three different propoſals with regard to Mary; that ſhe ſhould either be reſtored to the full poſſeſſion of her former authority; or be admitted to reign jointly with the king her ſon; or at leaſt be allowed to reſide in Scotland in ſome decent retirement, without any ſhare in the adminiſtration of government. Theſe overtures were extorted by the importunity of Fenelon the French ambaſſador, and have ſome appearance of being favourable to the captive queen. They were, however perfectly ſuitable to Elizabeth's general ſyſtem with regard to Scottiſh affairs. Among propoſitions ſo unequal and diſproportionate, ſhe eaſily ſaw where the choice would fall. The two former were rejected; and long delays muſt neceſſarily have intervened, and many difficulties have ariſen, before every circumſtance relative to the laſt could be finally adjuſted *.

Mary, in her letter, demanded that her marriage with Bothwell ſhould be reviewed by the proper judges, and if found invalid, ſhould be diſſolved by a legal ſentence of divorce. This fatal marriage was the principal ſource of all the calamities ſhe had endured for two years; a divorce was the only thing which could repair the injuries her reputation had ſuffered by that ſtep. It was her intereſt to have propoſed it early; and it is not eaſy to account for her long ſilence with reſpect to this point. Her particular motive for propoſing it at this time began to be ſo well known, that the demand was rejected by the convention of eſtates. They imputed it not ſo much to any abhorrence of Bothwell, as to her eagerneſs to conclude a marriage with the duke of Norfolk

This marriage was the object of that ſecret negotiation in England which we have already mentioned. The fertile and projecting genius of Maitland firſt conceived this ſcheme. During the conference at York

* Spotſwood, 230.

he communicated it to the duke himſelf, and to the biſhop of Roſs. The former readily cloſed with a ſcheme ſo flattering to his ambition. The latter conſidered it as a probable device for reſtoring his miſtreſs to liberty, and replacing her on her throne. Nor was Mary, with whom Norfolk held a correſpondence by means of his ſiſter lady Scroop, averſe from a meaſure, which would have reſtored her to her kingdom with ſo much ſplendour*. The ſudden removal of the conference from York to Weſtminſter ſuſpended, but did not break off this intrigue. Maitland and Roſs were ſtill the duke's prompters, and his agents; and many letters and love tokens were exchanged between him and the queen of Scots.

But as he could not hope that under an adminiſtration ſo vigilant as Elizabeth's, ſuch an intrigue could be kept long concealed, he attempted to deceive her by the appearance of openneſs and candour, and artifice which ſeldom fails of ſucceſs. He mentioned to her the rumour which was ſpread of his marriage with the Scottiſh queen; he complained of it as a groundleſs calumny; and diſclaimed all thoughts of that kind, with many expreſſions full of contempt both for Mary's character and dominions. Jealous as Elizabeth was of every thing relative to the queen of Scots, ſhe ſeems to have credited theſe profeſſions†. But inſtead of diſcontinuing the negotiation, he renewed it with greater vigour, and admitted into it new aſſociates. Among theſe was the regent of Scotland. He had given great offence to Norfolk, by his public accuſation of the queen, in breach of the concert into which he had entered at York. He was then ready to return into Scotland. The influence of the duke in the north of England was great. The earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, the moſt powerful noblemen in that part of the kingdom, threatened to revenge upon the regent the injuries which he had done his ſovereign. In order to ſecure his ſafe retreat he addreſſed himſelf to Norfolk,

* Camd. 419. Haynes, 573. State Trials, i. 73.
† Haynes, 574. State Trials, i. 79, 80.

and after ſome apology for his paſt conduct, he inſinuated that the duke's ſcheme of marrying the queen his ſiſter was no leſs acceptable to him than beneficial to both kingdoms; and that he would concur with the utmoſt ardour in promoting ſo deſirable an event. Norfolk heard him with the credulity natural to thoſe who are paſſionately bent upon any deſign. He wrote to the two earls to deſiſt from any hoſtile attempt againſt Murray; and to that he owed his paſſage through the northern counties without diſturbance.

Encouraged by his ſucceſs in gaining the regent, he next attempted to draw the Engliſh nobles to approve his deſign. The nation began to deſpair of Elizabeth's marrying. Her jealouſy kept the queſtion with regard to the right of ſucceſſion undecided. The memory of the civil wars, which had deſolated England for more than a century, on account of the diſputed titles of the houſes of York and Lancaſter, was ſtill recent. Almoſt the whole ancient nobility had periſhed, and the nation itſelf had been brought to the brink of deſtruction in that unhappy conteſt. The Scottiſh queen, though her right of ſucceſſion was generally held to be undoubted, might meet with formidable competitors. She might marry a foreign and a popiſh prince, and bring both liberty and religion into danger. But, by marrying her to an Engliſhman, a zealous proteſtant, the moſt powerful and moſt univerſally beloved of all the nobles, an effectual remedy ſeemed to be provided againſt all theſe evils. The greater part of the peers, either directly or tacitly, approved of it, as a ſalutary project. The earls of Arundel, Pembroke, Leiceſter, and lord Lumley, ſubſcribed a letter to the Scottiſh queen, written with Leiceſter's hand, in which they warmly recommended the match, but inſiſted, by way of preliminary, on Mary's promiſe, that ſhe ſhould attempt nothing, in conſequence of her pretenſions to the Engliſh crown, prejudicial to Elizabeth, or to her poſterity; that ſhe ſhould conſent to a league, offenſive and defenſive, between the two kingdoms; that ſhe ſhould confirm the preſent eſtabliſhment of religion in Scotland; and receive into favour ſuch of her ſub-

jects as had appeared in arms againſt her. Upon her agreeing to the marriage and ratifying theſe articles, they engaged that the Engliſh nobles would not only concur in reſtoring her immediately to her own throne, but in ſecuring to her that of England in reverſion. Mary readily conſented to all theſe propoſals, except the ſecond, with regard to which ſhe demanded ſome time for conſulting her ancient ally the French king ¶.

The whole of this negotiation was induſtriouſly concealed from Elizabeth. Her jealouſy of the Scottiſh queen was well known, nor could it be expected that ſhe would willingly come into a meaſure, which tended ſo viſibly to ſave the reputation, and to increaſe the power of her rival. But in a matter of ſo much conſequence to the nation, the taking a few ſteps without her knowledge could ſcarce be reckoned criminal; and while every perſon concerned, even Mary and Norfolk themſelves, declared that nothing ſhould be concluded without obtaining her conſent, the duty and allegiance of ſubjects ſeemed to be fully preſerved. The greater part of the nobles regarded the matter in this light. Thoſe who conducted the intrigue had farther and more dangerous views. They ſaw the advantages which Mary procured by this treaty, to be preſent and certain; and the execution of the promiſes which ſhe came under, to be diſtant and uncertain. They had early communicated their ſcheme to the kings of France and Spain, and obtained their approbation *. A treaty concerning which they conſulted foreign princes, while they concealed it from their own ſovereign, could not be deemed innocent. They hoped, however, that the union of ſo many nobles would render it neceſſary for Elizabeth to comply; they flattered themſelves that a combination ſo ſtrong would be altogether irreſiſtable; and ſuch was their confidence of ſucceſs, that when a plan was concerted in the north of England for reſcuing Mary out of the hands of her keepers, Norfolk, who was afraid, that if ſhe recovered liberty, her ſenti-

¶ Anderſon, vol. ii. 51. Camd. 420.
* Anderſ. vol. iii. 63.

ments in his favour might change, uſed all his intereſt to diſſuade the conſpirators from attempting it ‖.

In this ſituation did the affair remain when lord Boyd arrived from England; and, beſides the letters which he produced publicly, brought others in cyphers from Norfolk and Throkmorton to the regent and to Maitland. Theſe were full of the moſt ſanguine hopes. The whole nobles of England concurred, ſaid they, in favouring the deſign. Every preliminary was adjuſted; nor was it poſſible that a ſcheme ſo deep laid, conducted with ſo much art, and ſupported both by power and by numbers, could miſcarry, or be defeated in the execution. Nothing now was wanting but the concluding ceremony. It depended on the regent to haſten that, by procuring a ſentence of divorce, which would remove the only obſtacle that ſtood in the way. This was expected of him, in conſequence of his promiſe to Norfolk; and if he regarded either his intereſt or his fame, or even his ſafety, he would not fail to fulfil theſe engagements †.

But the regent was now in very different circumſtances from thoſe which had formerly induced him to affect an approbation of Norfolk's ſchemes. He ſaw that the downfal of his own power muſt be the firſt conſequence of the duke's ſucceſs; and if the queen, who conſidered him as the chief author of all her misfortunes, ſhould recover her ancient authority, he could never expect favour, nor ſcarce hope for impunity. No wonder he declined a ſtep ſo fatal to himſelf, and which would have eſtabliſhed the grandeur of another on the ruins of his own. This refuſal occaſioned a delay. But, as every other circumſtance was ſettled, the biſhop of Roſs, in the name of his miſtreſs, and the duke, in perſon, declared, in preſence of the French ambaſſador, their mutual conſent to the marriage, and a contract to this purpoſe was ſigned, and intruſted to the keeping of the ambaſſador *.

The intrigue was now in ſo many hands, that it

‖ Camd. 420. † Haynes, 520. Spotſw. 230. See Append. No. XXXII. * Carte, vol. iii. 486.

could not long remain a ſecret. It began to be whiſpered at court; and Elizabeth calling the duke into her preſence, expreſſed the utmoſt indignation at his conduct, and charged him to lay aſide all thoughts of proſecuting ſuch a dangerous deſign. Soon after Leiceſter, who perhaps countenanced the project with no other intention, revealed the whole circumſtances of it to the queen. Pembroke, Arundel, Lumley, and Throkmorton, were confined and examined. Mary was watched more narrowly than ever; and Haſtings earl of Huntingdon, who pretended to diſpute with the Scottiſh queen her right to the ſucceſſion, being joined in commiſſion with Shrewſbury, rendered her impriſonment more intolerable, by the exceſs of his vigilance and rigour†. The Scottiſh regent, threatened with Elizabeth's diſpleaſure, meanly betrayed the duke; put his letters into her hands, and furniſhed all the intelligence in his power‡. The duke himſelf retired firſt to Howard-houſe, and then, in contempt of the ſummons to appear before the privy-council, fled to his ſeat in Norfolk. Intimidated by the impriſonment of his aſſociates; coldly received by his friends in that country; unprepared for a rebellion; and unwilling perhaps to rebel, he heſitated for ſome days, and at laſt obeyed a ſecond call, and repaired to Windſor. He was firſt kept as a priſoner in a private houſe, and then ſent to the Tower. After being confined there upwards of nine months, he was releaſed upon his humble ſubmiſſion to Elizabeth, giving her a promiſe, on his allegiance, to hold no farther correſpondence with the queen of Scots §. During the progreſs of Norfolk's negotiations, the queen's partiſans in Scotland, who made no doubt of their iſſuing in her reſtoration to the throne, with an increaſe of authority, were wonderfully elevated. Maitland was the ſoul of that party, and the perſon whoſe activity and ability the regent chiefly dreaded. He had laid the plan of that intrigue which had kindled ſuch combuſtion in England.

† Haynes, 525, 526, 530, 532.

‡ See Append. No. XXXIII. § Haynes, 525, 597.

He continued to foment the ſpirit of diſſatisfaction in Scotland, and had ſeduced from the regent lord Home, Kirkaldy, and ſeveral of his former aſſociates. While he enjoyed liberty, the regent could not reckon his own power ſecure. For this reaſon, he employed captain Crawford, one of his creatures, to accuſe him of being acceſſory to the murder of the king; and under that pretence carried him a priſoner to Edinburgh. He would ſoon have been brought to trial, but was ſaved by the friendſhip of Kirkaldy, governor of the caſtle, who by pretending a warrant for that purpoſe from the regent, got him out of the hands of the perſon to whoſe care he was committed, and conducted him into the caſtle, which from that time was entirely under Maitland's command. The loſs of a place of ſo much importance, and the defection of a man ſo eminent for military ſkill as Kirkaldy, brought the regent into ſome diſreputation, for which, however, the ſucceſs of his ally Elizabeth abundantly compenſated.

The intrigue carried on for reſtoring the Scottiſh queen to liberty having been diſcovered and diſappointed, an attempt was made to the ſame purpoſe by force of arms; but of no better ſucceſs. The earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, though little diſtinguiſhed by their perſonal merit, were two of the moſt ancient and powerful of the Engliſh peers. Their eſtates in the northern counties were great, and they poſſeſſed that influence over the inhabitants which was hereditary in the popular and martial families of Percy and of Nevil. They were both attached to the popiſh religion, and diſcontented with the court, where new men and a new ſyſtem prevailed. Ever ſince Mary's arrival in England, they had warmly eſpouſed her intereſt; and zeal for popery, oppoſition to the court, commiſeration of her ſufferings, had engaged them in different plots for her relief. Notwithſtanding the vigilance of her keepers, they held a cloſe correſpondence with her, and communicated to her all their deſigns *. They were privy to Norfolk's ſchemes; but the cau-

* Haynes, 595.

tion with which he proceeded did not ſuit their ardour and impetuoſity. The liberty of the Scottiſh queen was not their ſole object. They aimed at bringing about a change in the religion, and a revolution in the government of the kingdom. For this reaſon they ſolicited the aid of the king of Spain, the avowed and zealous patron of popery in that age. Nothing could be more delightful to the reſtleſs ſpirit of Philip, or more neceſſary towards facilitating his ſchemes in the Netherlands, than the involving England in the confuſion and miſeries of a civil war. The duke of Alva, by his direction, encouraged the two earls, and promiſed, as ſoon as they either took the field with their forces, or ſurpriſed any place of ſtrength, or reſcued the queen of Scots, that he would ſupply them both with money and a ſtrong body of troops. La Mothe, the governor of Dunkirk, in the diſguiſe of a ſailor, ſounded the ports where it would be moſt proper to land. And Chiapini Vitelli, one of Alva's ableſt officers, was deſpatched into England, on pretence of ſettling ſome commercial differences between the two nations; but in reality that the rebels might be ſure of a leader of experience, ſo ſoon as they ventured to take arms*.

The conduct of this negotiation occaſioned many meetings and meſſages between the two earls. Elizabeth was informed of theſe; and though ſhe ſuſpected nothing of their real deſign, ſhe concluded that they were among the number of Norfolk's confidents. They were ſummoned, for this reaſon, to repair to court. Conſcious of guilt, and afraid of diſcovery, they delayed giving obedience. A ſecond, and more peremptory order was iſſued. This they could not decline, without ſhaking off their allegiance; and as no time was left for deliberation, they inſtantly erected their ſtandard againſt their ſovereign. The re-eſtabliſhing the catholic religion; the ſettling the order of ſucceſſion to the crown; the defence of the ancient nobility;

* Carte, vol. iii. 489, 490. Camd. 421.

were the motives which they alleged to juſtify their rebellion†. Many of the lower people flocked to them with ſuch arms as they could procure; and had the capacity of their leaders been in any degree equal to the enterpriſe, it muſt have ſoon grown to be extremely formidable. Elizabeth acted with prudence and vigour; and was ſerved by her ſubjects with fidelity and ardour. On the firſt rumour of an inſurrection, Mary was removed to Coventry, a place of ſtrength which could not be taken without a regular ſiege; a detachment of the rebels, which was ſent to reſcue her, returned without ſucceſs. Troops were aſſembled in different parts of the kingdom; as they advanced, the malecontents retired. In their retreat their numbers dwindled away, and their ſpirits ſunk. Deſpair, and uncertainty whither to direct their flight, kept together for ſome time a ſmall body of them among the mountains of Northumberland: but they were at length obliged to diſperſe, and the chiefs took refuge among the Scottiſh borderers. The two earls, together with the counteſs of Northumberland, wandering for ſome days in the waſtes of Liddiſdale, were plundered by the banditti, expoſed to the rigour of the ſeaſon, and left deſtitute of the neceſſaries of life. Weſtmoreland was concealed by Scot of Buccleugh and Ker of Ferniherſt, and afterwards conveyed into the Netherlands. Northumberland was ſeized by the regent, who had marched with ſome troops towards the borders, to prevent any impreſſion the rebels might make on thoſe mutinous provinces*.

Amidſt ſo many ſurpriſing events, the affairs of the church, for two years, have almoſt eſcaped our notice. Its general aſſemblies were held regularly; but no buſineſs of much importance employed their attention. As the number of the proteſtant clergy daily increaſed, the deficiency of the funds ſet apart for their ſubſiſtence became greater, and was more ſenſibly felt. Many efforts were made towards recovering the ancient patrimony of the church, or at leaſt as much of it as was

† Strype, vol. i. 547. * Cabbala, 171. Camb. 422.

poſſeſſed by the popiſh incumbents, a race of men who were now not only uſeleſs but burdenſome to the nation. But though the manner in which the regent received their addreſſes and complaints was very different from that to which they had been accuſtomed, no effectual remedy was provided: and while they ſuffered intolerable oppreſſion, and groaned under the moſt extreme poverty, fair words and liberal promiſes, were all they were able to obtain ¶.

Elizabeth now began to be weary of keeping ſuch a dangerous priſoner as the queen of Scots. During the former year, the tranquillity of her government had been diſturbed, firſt by a ſecret combination of ſome of her nobles, then by the rebellion of others; and ſhe often declared, not without reaſon, that Mary was the *hidden cauſe* of both. Many of her own ſubjects favoured or pitied the captive queen; the Roman catholic princes on the continent were warmly intereſted in her cauſe. The detaining her any longer in England, ſhe foreſaw, would be made the pretext or occaſion of perpetual cabals and inſurrections among the former; and might expoſe her to the hoſtile attempts of the latter. She reſolved, therefore, to give up Mary into the hands of the regent, whoſe ſecurity, no leſs than her own, depended on preventing Mary from re-aſcending the throne. The negotiation for this purpoſe was carried ſome length, when it was diſcovered by the vigilance of the biſhop of Roſs, who, together with the French and Spaniſh ambaſſadors, remonſtrated againſt the infamy of ſuch an action, and repreſented the ſurrendering the queen to her rebellious ſubjects to be the ſame thing as if Elizabeth ſhould, by her own authority, condemn her to inſtant death. This procured a delay; and the murder of the regent prevented the revival of that deſign §.

Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh was the perſon who committed this barbarous action. He had been con-

¶ Cald. vol. ii. 80, &c.

§ Carte, vol. iii. 491. Anderſ. vol. iii. 84.

demned to death ſoon after the battle of Langſide, as we have already related, and owed his life to the regent's clemency. But part of his eſtate had been beſtowed upon one of the regent's favourites, who ſeized his houſe, and turned out his wife naked, in a cold night, into the open fields, where, before next morning ſhe became furiouſly mad. This injury made a deeper impreſſion upon him than the benefit which he had received, and from that moment he vowed to be revenged upon the regent. Party-rage ſtrengthened and inflamed his private reſentment. His kinſmen the Hamiltons applauded the enterpriſe. The maxims of that age juſtified the moſt deſperate courſe which he could take to obtain vengeance. He followed the regent for ſome time, and watched for an opportunity to ſtrike the blow. He reſolved at laſt to wait till his enemy ſhould arrive at Linlithgow, through which he was to paſs in his way from Stirling to Edinburgh. He took his ſtand in a wooden gallery, which had a window towards the ſtreet; ſpread a feather-bed on the floor, to hinder the noiſe of his feet from being heard; hung up a black cloth behind him, that his ſhadow might not be obſerved from without; and after all his preparation, calmly expected the regent's approach, who had lodged during the night in a houſe not far diſtant. Some indiſtinct information of the danger which threatened him had been conveyed to the regent, and he paid ſo much regard to it, that he reſolved to return by the ſame gate through which he had entered, and to fetch a compaſs round the town. But as the crowd about the gate was great, and he himſelf unacquainted with fear, he proceeded directly along the ſtreet; and the throng of the people obliging him to move very ſlowly, gave the aſſaſſin time to take ſo true an aim, that he ſhot him with a ſingle bullet through the lower part of his belly, and killed the horſe of a gentleman who rode on his other ſide. His followers inſtantly endeavoured to break into the houſe whence the blow had come, but they found the door ſtrongly barricaded; and before it could be forced open, Hamilton had mounted a fleet horſe, which ſtood ready for him

at a back-paſſage, and was got far beyond their reach. The regent died the ſame night of his wound *.

There is no perſon in that age about whom hiſtorians have been more divided, or whoſe character has been drawn with ſuch oppoſite colours. Perſonal intrepidity, military ſkill, ſagacity, and vigour in the adminiſtration of civil affairs, are virtues, which even his enemies allow him to have poſſeſſed in an eminent degree. His moral qualities are more dubious, and ought neither to be praiſed nor cenſured without great reſerve, and many diſtinctions. In a fierce age he was capable of uſing victory with humanity, and of treating the vanquiſhed with moderation. A patron of learning, which, among martial nobles, was either unknown, or deſpiſed. Zealous for religion, to a degree which diſtinguiſhed him, even at a time when profeſſions of that kind were not uncommon. His confidence in his friends was extreme, and inferior only to his liberality towards them, which knew no bounds. A diſintereſted paſſion for the liberty of his country prompted him to oppoſe the pernicious ſyſtem which the princes of Lorrain had obliged the queen-mother to purſue. On Mary's return into Scotland, he ſerved her with a zeal and affection to which he ſacrificed the friendſhip of thoſe who were moſt attached to his perſon. But, on the other hand, his ambition was immoderate; and events happened that opened to him vaſt projects, which allured his enterpriſing genius, and led him to actions inconſiſtent with the duty of a ſubject. His treatment of the queen, to whoſe bounty he was ſo much indebted, was unbrotherly and ungrateful. The dependence on Elizabeth, under which he brought Scotland, was diſgraceful to the nation. He deceived and betrayed Norfolk with a baſeneſs unworthy a man of honour. His elevation to ſuch unexpected dignity inſpired him with new paſſions, with haughtineſs and reſerve; and inſtead of his natural manner, which was blunt and open, he affected the arts of diſſimulation and refinement. Fond, towards the end of his life, of flat-

* Buchan. 385. Crawf. Mem. 124.

tery, and impatient of advice, his creatures, by ſoothing his vanity, led him aſtray, while his ancient friends ſtood at a diſtance, and predicted his approaching fall. But amidſt the turbulence and confuſion of that factious period, he diſpenſed juſtice with ſo much impartiality, he repreſſed the licentious borderers with ſo much courage, and eſtabliſhed ſuch uncommon order and tranquillity in the country, that his adminiſtration was extremely popular, and he was long and affectionately remembered among the commons by the name of the *Good Regent*.

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK SIXTH. †

CONTENTS.

Conſequence of Murray's death. Lennox elected Regent. Artifices of Elizabeth. Dumbarton caſtle ſurpriſed by the Regent. Archbiſhop of St. Andrews executed. Two Parliaments. State of factions. Regent ſurpriſed and killed at Stirling. Mar ſucceeds him. Proceedings in England againſt Queen Mary. Norfolk's conſpiracy. Diſcovered by Elizabeth. League between England and France. Maſſacre at Paris. Death of the Regent Mar. Morton Regent. Affairs of the Church. Death and character of Knox. A treaty between the factions. Siege and ſurrender of Edinburgh caſtle. Execution of Kirkaldy the Governor. Odious tyranny of Morton. James. A plot againſt the Regent. His reſignation. Farther commotions. Fall of Morton. His trial and execution. Conſpiracy of the nobles. James ſeized. His eſcape. The Clergy favour the Conſpirators. A Parliament. Severe laws againſt the Church.

THE unexpected blow, by which the regent fell, ſtruck the king's party with the utmoſt conſternation. Elizabeth bewailed his death as the moſt fatal diſaſter which could have befallen her kingdom; and was inconſolable to a degree that little ſuited her dignity. Mary's adherents exulted, as if now her reſtoration were not only certain, but near at hand. The infamy of the crime

† The references to the Appendix again commence with No. I.

naturally fell on thoſe who expreſſed ſuch indecent joy at the commiſſion of it; and as the aſſaſſin made his eſcape on a horſe which belonged to lord Claud Hamilton, and fled directly to Hamilton, where he was received in triumph, it was concluded that the regent had fallen a ſacrifice to the reſentment of the queen's party, rather than to the revenge of a private man. On the day after the murder, Scott of Buccleugh, and Ker of Fernihersſt, both zealous abettors of the queen's cauſe, entered England in an hoſtile manner, and plundered and burnt the country, the inhabitants of which expected no ſuch outrage. If the regent had been alive, they would ſcarce have ventured on ſuch an irregular incurſion; nor could it well have happened ſo ſoon after his death, unleſs they had been privy to the crime.

This was not the only irregularity to which the anarchy that followed the regent's death gave occaſion. During ſuch general confuſion, men hoped for univerſal impunity, and broke out into exceſſes of every kind. As it was impoſſible to reſtrain theſe without a ſettled form of government, a convention of the nobles was held, in order to deliberate concerning the election of a regent. The queen's adherents refuſed to be preſent at the meeting, and proteſted againſt its proceedings. The king's own party was irreſolute and divided in opinion. Maitland, whom Kirkaldy had ſet at liberty, and who obtained from the nobles then aſſembled a declaration acquitting him of the crime which had been laid to his charge, endeavoured to bring about a coalition of the two parties, by propoſing to admit the queen to the joint adminiſtration of government with her ſon. Elizabeth, adhering to her old ſyſtem with regard to Scottiſh affairs, laboured, notwithſtanding the ſolicitations of Mary's friends†, to multiply, and to perpetuate the factions, which tore in pieces the kingdom. Randolph, whom ſhe deſpatched into Scotland on the firſt news of the regent's death, and who was her uſual agent for ſuch ſervices, found all parties ſo exaſperated by mutual injuries and ſo full of irreconcileable rancour, that it coſt him

† See Appendix, No. I.

little trouble to inflame their diſcord. The convention broke up without coming to any agreement; and a new meeting, to which the nobles of all parties were invited was appointed on the firſt of May, 1570.†

Mean time, Maitland and Kirkaldy, who ſtill continued to acknowledge the king's authority, were at the utmoſt pains to reſtore ſome degree of harmony among their countrymen. They procured, for this purpoſe, an amicable conference among the leaders of the two factions. But while the one demanded the reſtoration of the queen, as the only thing which could re-eſtabliſh the public tranquillity; while the other eſteemed the king's authority to be ſo ſacred, that it was, on no account, to be called in queſtion or impaired; and neither of them would recede in the leaſt point from their opinions, they ſeparated without any proſpect of concord. Both were rendered more averſe from reconcilement, by the hope of foreign aid. An envoy arrived from France with promiſes of powerful ſuccour to the queen's adherents; and as the civil wars in that kingdom ſeemed to be on the point of terminating in peace, it was expected that Charles would ſoon be at liberty to fulfil what he promiſed. On the other hand, the earl of Suſſex was aſſembling a powerful army on the borders, and its operations could not fail of adding ſpirit and ſtrength to the king's party‡.

Though the attempt towards a coalition of the factions proved ineffectual, it contributed ſomewhat to moderate or ſuſpend their rage; but they ſoon began to act with their uſual animoſity. Morton, the moſt vigilant and able leader on the king's ſide, ſolicited Elizabeth to interpoſe, without delay, for the ſafety of a party ſo devoted to her intereſt, and which ſtood ſo much in need of her aſſiſtance. The chiefs of the queen's faction, aſſembling at Linlithgow, marched thence to Edinburgh; and Kirkaldy, who was both governor of the caſtle and provoſt of the town, prevailed on the citizens, tho' with ſome difficulty, to admit them within the gates. Toge-

† Crawf. Mem. 131. Calderw. ii. 157.
‡ Crawf. Mem. 134.

ther with Kirkaldy, the earl of Athol, and Maitland, acceded almoſt openly to their party; and the duke and lord Herries, having recovered liberty by Kirkaldy's favour, reſumed the places which they had formerly held in their councils. Encouraged by the acquiſition of perſons ſo illuſtrious by their birth, or ſo eminent for their abilities, they publiſhed a proclamation, declaring their intention to ſupport the queen's authority, and ſeemed reſolved not to leave the city before the meeting of the approaching convention, in which by their numbers and influence, they did not doubt of ſecuring a majority of voices on their ſide *.

At the ſame time they had formed a deſign of kindling war between the two kingdoms. If they could engage them in hoſtilities, and revive their ancient emulation and antipathy, they hoped, not only to diſſolve a confederacy of great advantage to the king's cauſe, but to reconcile their countrymen to their own ſovereign, Elizabeth's natural and moſt dangerous rival. With this view they had, immediately after the murder of the regent, prompted Scott and Ker to commence hoſtilities, and had ſince inſtigated them to continue and extend their depredations. As Elizabeth foreſaw, on the one hand, the dangerous conſequences of rendering this a national quarrel; and reſolved, on the other, not to ſuffer ſuch an inſult on her government to paſs with impunity; ſhe iſſued a proclamation, declaring that ſhe imputed the outrages which had been committed not to the Scottiſh nation, but to a few deſperate and ill-deſigning perſons; that, with the former, ſhe was reſolved to maintain an inviolable friendſhip, whereas the duty which ſhe owed to her own ſubjects obliged her to chaſtiſe the licentiouſneſs of the latter †. Suſſex and Scroop accordingly entered Scotland, the one on the eaſt, the other on the weſt borders, and laid waſte the adjacent countries with fire and ſword ‡. Fame magnified the number and progreſs of their troops, and Mary's adherents, not thinking themſelves ſafe in Edinburgh, the

* Crawf. Mem. 136. Calderw. ii. 176.
† Calderw. ii. 181. ‡ Cabbala, 174.

inhabitants whereof were ill affected to their cauſe, retired to Linlithgow. There, they openly proclaimed the queens's authority, and forbade giving obedience to any but the duke, or the earls of Argyll and Huntly, whom ſhe had conſtituted her lieutenants in the kingdom.

The nobles who adhered to the king, though conſiderably weakened by the defection of ſo many of their friends, aſſembled at Edinburgh on the day appointed. They iſſued a counter-proclamation, declaring ſuch as appeared for the queen enemies of their country; and charging them with the murder both of the late king and of the regent. They could not, however, preſume ſo much on their own ſtrength as to venture either to elect a regent, or to take the field againſt the queen's party; but the aſſiſtance which they received from Elizabeth enabled them to do both. By her order ſir William Drury marched into Scotland, with a thouſand foot and three hundred horſe; the king's adherents joined him with a conſiderable body of troops, and advancing towards Glaſgow, where the adverſe party had already begun hoſtilities by attacking the caſtle, they forced them to retire, plundered the neighbouring country which belonged to the Hamiltons, and, after ſeizing ſome of their caſtles, and razing others, returned to Edinburgh.

Under Drury's protection the earl of Lennox returned into Scotland. It was natural to commit the government of the kingdom to him during the minority of his grandſon. His illuſtrious birth, and alliance with the royal family of England, as well as of Scotland rendered him worthy of that honour. His reſentment againſt Mary being implacable, as his eſtate lay in England, and his family reſiding there, Elizabeth conſidered him as a man who, both from inclination and from intereſt, would act in concert with her, and ardently wiſhed that he might ſucceed Murray in the office of regent. But on many accounts, ſhe did not think it prudent to diſcover her own ſentiments, or to favour his pretenſions too openly. The civil wars in France, which had been excited by a pretended zeal for religi-

on, and carried on with a fierceneſs which did it real diſhonour, appeared now to be on the point of coming to an iſſue; and after ſhedding the beſt blood, and waſting the richeſt provinces in the kingdom, both parties deſired peace with an ardour that facilitated the negotiations which were carrying on for that purpoſe. Charles IX. was known to be a paſſionate admirer of Mary's beauty. Nor could he, in honour, ſuffer a queen of France, and the moſt ancient ally of his crown, to languiſh in her preſent cruel ſituation, without attempting to procure her relief. He had hitherto been obliged to ſatisfy himſelf with remonſtrating, by his ambaſſadors, againſt the indignity with which ſhe had been treated. But if he were once at full liberty to purſue his inclinations, Elizabeth would have every thing to dread from the impetuoſity of his temper and the power of his arms. It therefore became neceſſary for her to act with ſome reſerve, and not to appear avowedly to countenance the choice of a regent, in contempt of Mary's authority. The jealouſy and prejudices of the Scots required no leſs management. Had ſhe openly ſupported Lennox's claim; had ſhe recommended him to the convention, as the candidate of whom ſhe approved; this might have rouſed the independent ſpirit of the nobles, and by too plain a diſcovery of her intention, ſhe might have defeated its ſucceſs. For theſe reaſons ſhe heſitated long, and returned ambiguous anſwers to all the meſſages which ſhe received from the king's party. A more explicit declaration of her ſentiments was at laſt obtained, and an event of an extraordinary nature ſeems to have been the occaſion of it. Pope Pius V. having iſſued a bull, whereby he excommunicated Elizabeth, deprived her of her kingdom, and abſolved her ſubjects from their oath of allegiance, Felton, an Engliſhman, had the boldneſs to affix it on the gates of the biſhop of London's palace. In former ages, a pope, moved by his own ambition, or pride, or bigotry, denounced this fatal ſentence againſt the moſt powerful monarchs; but as the authority of the court of Rome was now leſs regarded, its proceedings were more cautious; and it was only when they were rouſed

by ſome powerful prince, that the thunders of the church were ever heard. Elizabeth, therefore, imputed this ſtep which the pope had taken to a combination of the Roman catholic princes againſt her, and ſuſpected that ſome plot was formed in favour of the Scottiſh queen. In that event, ſhe knew that the ſafety of her own kingdom depended on preſerving her influence in Scotland; and in order to ſtrengthen this, ſhe renewed her promiſes of protecting the king's adherents, encouraged them to proceed to the election of a regent, and even ventured to point out the earl of Lennox as the perſon who had the beſt title. That honour was accordingly conferred upon him, in a convention of the whole party held on the 12th of July, 1570*.

The regent's firſt care was to prevent the meeting of the parliament which the queen's party had ſummoned to convene at Linlithgow. Having effected that, he marched againſt the earl of Huntly, Mary's lieutenant in the north, and forced the garriſon which he had placed in Brechin to ſurrender at diſcretion. Soon after, he made himſelf maſter of ſome other caſtles. Emboldened by this ſucceſsful beginning of his adminiſtration, as well as by the appearance of a conſiderable army, with which the earl of Suſſex hovered on the borders, he deprived Maitland of his office of ſecretary, and proclaimed him, the duke, Huntly, and other leaders of the queen's party, traitors and enemies of their country†.

In this deſperate ſituation of their affairs, the queen's adherents had recourſe to the king of Spain‡, with whom Mary had held a cloſe correſpondence ever ſince her confinement in England. They prevailed on the duke of Alva to ſend two of his officers to take a view of the country, and to examine its coaſts and harbours; and obtained from him a ſmall ſupply of money and arms, which were ſent to the earl of Huntly‖. But

* Spotſw. 240. Cald. ii. 186. See Appen. No. II.
† Crawf Mem. 159. Cald. ii. 198. ‡ See Append. No. III. ‖ And. iii. 122. Crawf. Mem. 153.

this aid, so disproportionate to their exigencies, would have availed them little. They were indebted for their safety to a treaty, which Elizabeth was carrying on, under colour of restoring the captive queen to her throne. The first steps in this negotiation were taken in the month of May; but hitherto little progress was made in it. The peace concluded between the Roman catholics and hugonots in France, and her apprehensions that Charles would interpose with vigour in behalf of his sister-in-law, quickened Elizabeth's motions. She affected to treat her prisoner with more indulgence, she listened more graciously to the solicitations of foreign ambassadors in her favour, and seemed fully determined to replace her on the throne of her ancestors. As a proof of her sincerity, she laboured to procure a cessation of arms between the two contending factions in Scotland. Lennox, elated with the good fortune which had hitherto attended his administration, and flattering himself with an easy triumph over enemies whose estates were wasted, and their forces dispirited, refused for some time to come into this measure. It was not safe for him, however, to dispute the will of his protectress. A cessation of hostilities during two months, to commence on the third of September, was agreed upon; and, being renewed from time to time, it continued till the first of April next year§.

Soon after Elizabeth despatched Cecil and sir Walter Mildmay to the queen of Scots. The dignity of these ambassadors, the former her prime minister, the latter chancellor of the exchequer, and one of her ablest counsellors, convinced all parties that the negotiation was serious, and that the hour of Mary's liberty was now approaching. The propositions which they made to her were advantageous to Elizabeth, but such as a prince in Mary's situation had reason to expect. The ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, the renouncing any pretensions to the English crown, during Elizabeth's own life, or that of her posterity; the adhering to the alliance between the two kingdoms; the pardoning [illegible]

§ Spotsw. 243.

ſubjects who had taken arms againſt her; and her promiſing to hold no correſpondence, and to countenance no enterpriſe, that might diſturb Elizabeth's government; were among the chief articles. By way of ſecurity for the accompliſhment of theſe, they demanded that ſome perſons of rank ſhould be given as hoſtages, that the prince her ſon ſhould reſide in England, and that a few caſtles on the border ſhould be put into Elizabeth's hands. To ſome of theſe propoſitions Mary conſented, ſome ſhe endeavoured to mitigate, and others ſhe attempted to evade. In the mean time, ſhe tranſmitted copies of them to the pope, to the kings of France and Spain, and to the duke of Alva. She inſinuated, that without ſome timely and vigorous interpoſition in her behalf, ſhe would be obliged to accept of theſe hard conditions, and to purchaſe liberty at any price. But the pope was a diſtant and feeble ally, and by his great efforts at this time againſt the Turks, his treaſury was entirely exhauſted. Charles had already begun to meditate that conſpiracy againſt the hugonots, which marks his reign with ſuch infamy; and it required much leiſure, and perfect tranquillity, to bring that execrable plan to maturity. Philip was employed in fitting out that fleet which acquired ſo great renown to the Chriſtian arms, by the victory over the infidels at Lepanto; the Moors in Spain threatened an inſurrection; and his ſubjects in the Netherlands, provoked by much oppreſſion and many indignities, were breaking out into open rebellion. All of them, for theſe different reaſons, adviſed Mary, without depending on their aid, to conclude the treaty on the beſt terms ſhe could procure it†.

Mary accordingly conſented to many of Elizabeth's demands, and diſcovered a facility of diſpoſition which promiſed ſtill further conceſſions. But no conceſſion ſhe could have made would have ſatisfied Elizabeth, who, in ſpite of her repeated profeſſions of ſincerity to foreign ambaſſadors, and notwithſtanding the ſolemnity

† Anderſ. vol. iii. 119, 120.

with which she carried on the treaty, had no other object in it than to amuse Mary's allies, and to gain time†. After having so long treated a queen, who fled to her for refuge, in so ungenerous a manner, she could not now dismiss her with safety. Under all the disadvantages of a rigorous confinement, Mary had found means to excite commotions in England, which were extremely formidable. What desperate effects of her just resentment might be expected, if she were set at liberty, and recovered her former power? What engagements could bind her, not to revenge the wrongs which she had suffered, nor to take advantage of the favourable conjunctures that might present themselves? Was it possible for her to give such security for her behaviour, in times to come, as might remove all suspicions and fears? And was there not good cause to conclude, that no future benefits could ever obliterate the memory of past injuries? It was thus Elizabeth reasoned; though she continued to act as if her views had been entirely different. She appointed seven of her privy counsellors to be commissioners for settling the articles of the treaty; and, as Mary had already named the bishops of Ross and Galloway, and lord Livingston, for her ambassadors, she required the regent to impower proper persons to appear in behalf of the king. The earl of Morton, Pitcairn abbot of Dunfermling, and sir James Macgill, were the persons chosen by the regent. They prepared for their journey as slowly as Elizabeth herself could have wished. At length they arrived at London, and met the commissioners of the two queens. Mary's ambassadors discovered the strongest inclination to comply with every thing that would remove the obstacles which stood in the way of their mistress's liberty. But when Morton and his associates were called upon to vindicate their conduct, and to explain the sentiments of their party, they began, in justification of their treatment of the queen, to advance such maxims concerning the limited powers of princes, and the natural right of subjects to resist and to controul

† Digges, Compl. Amb. 78.

them, as were extremely ſhocking to Elizabeth, whoſe notions of regal prerogative, as has been formerly obſerved, were very exalted. With regard to the authority which the king now poſſeſſed, they declared that they neither had, nor could poſſibly receive inſtructions to conſent to any treaty that tended to ſubvert, or even to impair it in the leaſt degree*. Nothing could be more trifling and ridiculous, than ſuch a reply from the commiſſioners of the king of Scots to the queen of England. His party depended abſolutely on her protection, her hand had ſeated him on the throne, and to her power he owed the continuance of his reign. With the utmoſt eaſe ſhe could have brought them to talk in a very different language; and whatever conditions ſhe might have thought fit to preſcribe, they would have had no other choice but to ſubmit. This declaration, however, ſhe affected to conſider as an inſuperable difficulty; and finding that there was no reaſon to dread any danger from the French king, who had not diſcovered that eagerneſs in ſupport of Mary which was expected, the reply made by Morton furniſhed her with a pretence for putting a ſtop to the negotiation, until the regent ſhould ſend ambaſſadors with more ample powers. And, after being amuſed for ten months with the hopes of liberty, the unhappy queen of Scots remained under ſtricter cuſtody than ever, and without any proſpect of eſcaping from it; while thoſe ſubjects who ſtill adhered to her were expoſed, without ally or protector, to the rage of enemies, whom their ſucceſs in this negotiation rendered ſtill more inſolent†.

On the day after the expiration of the truce, which had been obſerved with little exactneſs on either ſide, captain Crawford of Jordan-hill, a gallant and enterpriſing officer, performed a ſervice of great importance to the regent, by ſurpriſing the caſtle of Dumbarton. This was the only fortified place in the kingdom of which the queen had kept poſſeſſion ever ſince the commencement

* Cald. ii. 234. Digges, 51. Haynes, 523, 524.
† And. iii. 91, &c.

of the civil wars. Its ſituation, on the top of an high and almoſt inacceſſible rock, which riſes in the middle of a plain, rendered it extremely ſtrong, and, in the opinion of that age, impregnable; as it commanded the river Clyde, it was of great conſequence, and was deemed the moſt proper place in the kingdom for landing any foreign troops that might come to Mary's aid. The ſtrength of the place rendered lord Fleming, the governor, more ſecure than he ought to have been, conſidering its importance. A ſoldier who had ſerved in the garriſon, and had been diſguſted by ſome ill uſage, propoſed the ſcheme to the regent, endeavoured to demonſtrate that it was practicable, and offered himſelf to go the foremoſt man on the enterpriſe. It was thought prudent to riſk any danger for ſo great a prize. Scaling-ladders, and whatever elſe might be neceſſary, were prepared with the utmoſt ſecrecy and diſpatch. All the avenues to the caſtle were ſeized, that no intelligence of the deſign might reach the governor. Towards evening Crawford marched from Glaſgow with a ſmall but determined band. By midnight they arrived at the bottom of the rock. The moon was ſet, and the ſky, which hitherto had been extremely clear, was covered with a thick fog. It was where the rock was higheſt that the aſſailants made their attempt, becauſe in that place there were few centinels, and they hoped to find them leaſt alert. The firſt ladder was ſcarcely fixed, when the weight and eagerneſs of thoſe who mounted brought it to the ground. None of the aſſailants were hurt by the fall, and none of the garriſon alarmed at the noiſe. Their guide and Crawford ſcrambled up the rock, and faſtened the ladder to the roots of a tree which grew in a cleft. This place they all reached with the utmoſt difficulty, but were ſtill at a great diſtance from the foot of the wall. Their ladder was made faſt a ſecond time; but in the middle of the aſcent, they met with an unforeſeen difficulty. One of their companions was ſeized with ſome ſudden fit, and clung, ſeemingly without life, to the ladder. All were at a ſtand. It was impoſſible to paſs him. To tumble him headlong was cruel, and might occaſion a diſcovery. But

Crawford's preſence of mind did not forſake him. He ordered the ſoldier to be bound faſt to the ladder, that he might not fall when the fit was over, and turning the other ſide of the ladder, they mounted with eaſe over his belly. Day now began to break, and there ſtill remained a high wall to ſcale; but after ſurmounting ſo many great difficulties, this was ſoon accompliſhed. A ſentry obſerved the firſt man who appeared on the parapet, and had juſt time to give the alarm, before he was knocked on the head. The officers and ſoldiers of the garriſon ran out naked, unarmed, and more anxious about their own ſafety, than capable of making reſiſtance. The aſſailants ruſhed forwards, with repeated ſhouts and with the utmoſt fury; took poſſeſſion of the magazine, ſeized the cannon; and turned them againſt their enemies. Lord Fleming got into a ſmall boat, and fled all alone into Argyllſhire. Crawford, in reward of his valour and good conduct, remained maſter of the caſtle; and as he did not loſe a ſingle man in the enterpriſe, he enjoyed his ſucceſs with unmixed pleaſure. Lady Fleming, Verac the French envoy, and Hamilton archbiſhop of St. Andrews, were the priſoners of greateſt diſtinction *.

Verac's character protected him from the uſage which he merited by his activity in ſtirring up enemies againſt the king. The regent treated the lady with great politeneſs and humanity. But a very different fate awaited the archbiſhop; he was carried under a ſtrong guard to Stirling; and as he had formerly been attainted by act of parliament, he was, without any formal trial, condemned to be hanged; and on the fourth day after he was taken, the ſentence was executed. An attempt was made to convict him of being acceſſory to the murder both of the king and regent, but theſe accuſations were ſupported by no proof. Our hiſtorians obſerve, that he was the firſt biſhop in Scotland who died by the hands of the executioner. The high offices he had enjoyed, both in church and ſtate, ought to have exempted him from a puniſhment in-

* Buch. 394.

flicted only on the loweſt criminals. But his zeal for the queen, his abilities, and his profeſſion, rendered him odious and formidable to the king's adherents. Lennox hated him as the perſon by whoſe counſels the reputation and power of the houſe of Hamilton were ſupported. Party rage and perſonal enmity dictated that indecent ſentence, for which ſome colour was ſought, by imputing to him ſuch odious crimes *.

The loſs of Dumbarton, and the ſevere treatment of the archbiſhop, perplexed and enraged the queen's party; and hoſtilities were renewed with all the fierceneſs which diſappointment and indignation can inſpire. Kirkaldy, who, during the truce, had taken care to increaſe the number of his garriſon, and to provide every thing neceſſary for a ſiege, iſſued a proclamation declaring Lennox's authority to be unlawful and uſurped; commanded all who favoured his cauſe to leave the town within ſix hours; ſeized the arms belonging to the citizens; planted a battery on the ſteeple of St. Giles's, repaired the walls, and fortified the gates of the city; and, though the affections of the inhabitants leaned a different way, held out the metropolis againſt the regent. The duke, Huntly, Home, Herries, and other chiefs of that faction, repaired to Edinburgh with their followers; and having received a ſmall ſum of money and ſome ammunition from France, formed no contemptible army within the walls. On the other ſide, Morton ſeized Leith and fortified it; and the regent joined him with a conſiderable body of men. While the armies lay ſo near each other, daily ſkirmiſhes happened, and with various ſucceſs. The queen's party was not ſtrong enough to take the field againſt the regent, nor was his ſuperiority ſo great as to undertake the ſiege of the caſtle or of the town †.

Some time before Edinburgh fell into the hands of his enemies, the regent had ſummoned a parliament to meet in that place, In order to prevent any objection, againſt the lawfulneſs of the meeting, the members obeyed the proclamation as exactly as poſſible; and

* Spotſw. 252. † Cald. ii. 233, &c.

aſſembled in a houſe at the head of the Cannongate, which, though without the walls, lies within the liberties of the city. Kirkaldy exerted himſelf to the utmoſt to interrupt their meeting; but they were ſo ſtrongly guarded, that all efforts were vain. They paſſed an act attainting Maitland and a few others, and then adjourned to the 28th of Auguſt *.

The other party, in order that their proceedings might be countenanced by the ſame ſhew of legal authority, held a meeting of parliament ſoon after. There was produced in this aſſembly a declaration by the queen of the invalidity of that deed whereby ſhe had reſigned the crown, and conſented to the coronation of her ſon. Conformable to this declaration, an act was paſſed, pronouncing the reſignation to have been extorted by fear; to be null in itſelf, and in all its conſequences; and enjoining all good ſubjects to acknowledge the queen alone to be their lawful ſovereign, and to ſupport thoſe who acted in her name. The preſent eſtabliſhment of the proteſtant religion was confirmed by another ſtatute: and in imitation of the adverſe party, a new meeting was appointed on the 26th of Auguſt †.

Mean while all the miſeries of civil war deſolated the kingdom. Fellow-citizens, friends, brothers, took different ſides, and ranged themſelves under the ſtandards of the contending factions. In every county, and almoſt in every town and village, *King's men* and *Queen's men* were names of diſtinction. Political hatred diſſolved all natural ties, and extinguiſhed the reciprocal goodwill and confidence which hold mankind together in ſociety. Religious zeal mingled itſelf with theſe civil diſtinctions, and contributed not a little to heighten and to inflame them.

The factions which divided the kingdom were in appearance only two. But in both theſe there were perſons with views and principles ſo different from each other, that they ought to be diſtinguiſhed. With ſome, conſiderations of religion were predominant, and they

* Crawf. Mem. 177. † Id. ibid.

either adhered to the queen, becauſe they hoped by her means to re-eſtabliſh popery, or they defended the king's authority, as the beſt ſupport of the proteſtant faith. Among theſe the oppoſition was violent and irreconcilable. Others were influenced by political motives only, or allured by views of intereſt; the regent aimed at uniting theſe, and did not deſpair of gaining by gentle arts many of Mary's adherents to acknowledge the king's authority. Maitland and Kirkaldy had formed the ſame deſign of a coalition, but on ſuch terms that the queen might be reſtored to ſome ſhare in the government, and the kingdom ſhake off its dependence on England. Morton, the ableſt, the moſt ambitious, and the moſt powerful man of the king's party, held a particular courſe; and moving only as he was prompted by the court of England, thwarted every meaſure that tended towards a reconcilement of the factions; and as he ſerved Elizabeth with much fidelity, he derived both power and credit, from her avowed protection.

The time appointed by both parties for the meeting of their parliaments now approached. Only three peers and two biſhops appeared in that which was held in the queen's name at Edinburgh. But, contemptible as their numbers were, they paſſed an act for attainting upwards of two hundred of the adverſe faction. The meeting at Stirling was numerous and ſplendid. The regent had prevailed on the earls of Argyll, Eglinton, Caſſils, and lord Boyd, to acknowledge the king's authority. The three earls were among the moſt powerful noblemen in the kingdom, and had hitherto been zealous in the queen's cauſe. Lord Boyd had been one of Mary's commiſſioners at York and Weſtminſter, and ſince that time had been admitted into all her moſt ſecret councils. But, during that turbulent period, the conduct of individuals, as well as the principles of factions, varied ſo often, that the ſenſe of honour, the chief preſervative of conſiſtency in character, was entirely loſt; and, without any regard to decorum, men ſuddenly abandoned one party, and adopted all the violent paſſions of the other. The defection, however, of

ſo many perſons of diſtinction not only weakened the queen's party, but added reputation to her adverſaries.

After the example of the parliament at Edinburgh, that at Stirling began with framing acts againſt the oppoſite faction. But in the midſt of all the ſecurity, which confidence in their own numbers or diſtance from danger could inſpire, they were awakened, early one morning, by the ſhouts of the enemy in the heart of the town. In a moment the houſes of every perſon of diſtinction were ſurrounded, and before they knew what to think of ſo ſtrange an event, the regent, the earls of Argyll, Morton, Glencairn, Caſſils, Eglinton, Montroſe, Buchan, the lords Sempil, Cathcart, Ogilvie, were all made priſoners, and mounted behind troopers, who were ready to carry them to Edinburgh. Kirkaldy was the author of this daring enterpriſe; and if he had not been induced by the ill-timed anxiety of his friends about his ſafety, not to hazard his own perſon in conducting it, that day would have terminated the conteſt between the two factions, and have reſtored peace to his country. By his direction four hundred men, under the command of Huntly, lord Claud Hamilton, and Scott of Buccleugh, ſet out from Edinburgh, and the better to conceal their deſign, marched towards the ſouth. But they ſoon wheeled to the right, and horſes having been provided for the infantry, rode ſtraight to Stirling. By four in the morning they arrived there; not one ſentry was poſted on the walls, nor a ſingle man was awake about the place. They met with no reſiſtance from any perſon they had ſeized, except Morton. He defending his houſe with obſtinate valour, they were obliged to ſet it on fire, and he did not ſurrender till forced out of it by the flames. In performing this, ſome time was conſumed; and the private men, unaccuſtomed to regular diſcipline, left their colours, and began to rifle the houſes and ſhops of the citizens. The noiſe and uproar in the town reached the caſtle. The earl of Mar ſallied out with thirty ſoldiers; fired briſkly upon the enemy, of whom almoſt none but the officers kept together in a body. The townſmen took arms to aſſiſt their governor; a ſudden panic ſtruck the aſſailants; ſome fled, ſome

ſurrendered themſelves to their own priſoners; and had not the borderers, who followed Scott, prevented a purſuit, by carrying off all the horſes within the place, not a man would have eſcaped. If the regent had not unfortunately been killed, the loſs on the king's ſide would have been as inconſiderable as the alarm was great. *Think on the archbiſhop of St. Andrews*, was the word among the queen's ſoldiers; and Lennox fell a ſacrifice to his memory. The officer to whom he ſurrendered, endeavouring to protect him, loſt his own life in his defence. He was ſlain, according to the general opinion, by command of lord Claud Hamilton. Kirkaldy had the glory of concerting this plan with great ſecrecy and prudence; but Morton's fortunate obſtinacy, and the want of diſcipline among his troops, deprived him of ſucceſs, the only thing wanting to render this equal to the moſt applauded military enterpriſes of the kind*.

As ſo many of the nobles were aſſembled, they proceeded without delay to the election of a regent. Argyll, Morton, and Mar, were candidates for the office. Mar was choſen by a majority of voices. Amidſt all the fierce diſſenſions which had prevailed ſo long in Scotland, he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his moderation, his humanity, and his diſintereſtedneſs. And as his power was far inferior to Argyll's, and his abilities not ſo great as Morton's, he was, for theſe reaſons, leſs formidable to the other nobles. His merit too, in having ſo lately reſcued the leaders of the party from imminent deſtruction, contributed not a little to his preferment.

While theſe things were carrying on in Scotland, the tranſactions in England were no leſs intereſting to Mary, and ſtill more fatal to her cauſe. The parliament of that kingdom, which met in April, paſſed an act, by which it was declared to be high treaſon to claim any right to the crown during the life of the queen; to affirm that the title of any other perſon was better than her's, or to maintain that the parliament had not power to ſettle and to limit the order of ſucceſſion. This remarkable ſtatute was intended not only for the ſecurity

* Melv. 246. Crawf. Mem. 204.

of their own ſovereign, but to curb the reſtleſs and intriguing ſpirit of the Scottiſh queen and her adherents*.

At this time a treaty of marriage between Elizabeth and the duke of Anjou, the French king's brother, was well advanced. Both courts ſeemed to deſire it with equal ardour, and gave out, with the utmoſt confidence, that it could not fail of taking place. Neither of them, however, wiſhed it ſucceſs; and they encouraged it for no other end, but becauſe it ſerved to cover or to promote their particular deſigns. The whole policy of Catherine of Medicis was bent towards the accompliſhment of her deteſtable project for the deſtruction of the hugonot chiefs; and by carrying on a negotiation for the marriage of her ſon with a princeſs who was juſtly eſteemed the protectreſs of that party, by yielding ſome things in point of religion, and by diſcovering an indifference with regard to others, ſhe hoped to amuſe all the proteſtants in Europe, and to lull aſleep the jealouſy even of the hugonots themſelves. Elizabeth flattered herſelf with reaping advantages of another kind. During the dependence of the negotiation, the French could not with decency give any open aſſiſtance to the Scottiſh queen; if they conceived any hopes of ſucceſs in the treaty of marriage, they would of courſe intereſt themſelves but coldly in her concerns: Mary herſelf muſt be dejected with loſing an ally, whom ſhe had hitherto reckoned her moſt powerful protector; and by interrupting her correſpondence with France, one ſource, at leaſt, of the cabals and intrigues which diſturbed the kingdom would be ſtopt. Both queens ſucceeded in their ſchemes. Catherine's artifices impoſed on Elizabeth, and blinded the hugonots. The French diſcovered the utmoſt indifference about the intereſt of the Scottiſh queen; and Mary, conſidering that court as already united with her rival, turned herſelf for protection with more eagerneſs than ever towards the king of Spain†. Philip, whoſe dark and thoughtful mind delighted in the myſtery of intrigue, had held a ſecret correſpondence with Mary for

* Camd. 436. † Digges, 144, 148. Camb. 434.

ſome time, by means of the biſhop of Roſs, and had ſupplied both herſelf and her adherents in Scotland with ſmall ſums of money. Ridolphi, a Florentine gentleman, who reſided at London under the character of a banker, and who acted privately as an agent for the pope, was the perſon whom the biſhop intruſted with this negotiation. Mary thought it neceſſary likewiſe to communicate the ſecret to the duke of Norfolk, whom Elizabeth had lately reſtored to liberty, upon his ſolemn promiſe to have no farther intercourſe with the queen of Scots; which, however, he regarded ſo little, that ſhe took no ſtep in any matter of moment without his advice. She complained in a long letter, which ſhe wrote to him in cyphers, of the baſeneſs with which the French court had abandoned her intereſt, ſhe declared her intention of imploring the aſſiſtance of the Spaniſh monarch, which was now her only reſource; and recommended Ridolphi to his confidence, as a perſon capable both of explaining and of advancing the ſcheme. The duke commanded Hickford, his ſecretary, to decypher, and then to burn this letter; but whether he had been already gained by the court, or reſolved at that time to betray his maſter, he diſobeyed the latter part of the order, and hid the letter, together with other treaſonable papers, under the duke's own bed.

Ridolphi, in a conference with Norfolk, omitted none of thoſe arguments, and ſpared none of thoſe promiſes, which are the uſual incentives to rebellion. The pope, he told him, had a great ſum in readineſs to beſtow in ſo good a cauſe. The duke of Alva had undertaken to land ten thouſand men not far from London. The catholics to a man would riſe in arms. Many of the nobles were ripe for a revolt, and wanted only a leader. Half the nation had turned their eyes towards him, and expected him to revenge the unmerited injuries which he himſelf had ſuffered; and to reſcue an unfortunate queen, who offered him her perſon and her crown as the reward of his ſucceſs. Norfolk approved of the deſign, and, though he refuſed to give Ridolphi any letter of credit, allowed him to uſe his name in negotiating with

the pope and Alva §. The biſhop of Roſs, who, from the violence of his temper, and impatience to procure relief for his miſtreſs, was apt to run into raſh and deſperate deſigns, adviſed the duke to aſſemble ſecretly a few of his followers, and at once to ſeize Elizabeth's perſon. But this the duke rejected as a ſcheme equally wild and hazardous. Mean while, the Engliſh court had received ſome imperfect information of the plot, by intercepting one of Ridolphi's agents; and an accident happened which brought to light all the circumſtances of it. The duke had employed Hickford to tranſmit to lord Herries ſome money which was to be diſtributed among Mary's adherents in Scotland. A perſon not in the ſecret was intruſted with conveying it to the borders, and he, ſuſpecting it from the weight to be gold, whereas he had been told that it was ſilver, carried it directly to the privy council. The duke, his domeſtics, and all who were privy, or could be ſuſpected of being privy, to the deſign, were taken into cuſtody. Never did the accomplices in a conſpiracy diſcover leſs firmneſs, or ſervants betray an indulgent maſter with greater baſeneſs. Every one confeſſed the whole of what he knew. Hickford gave directions how to find the papers which he had hid. The duke himſelf, relying at firſt on the fidelity of his aſſociates, and believing all dangerous papers to have been deſtroyed, confidently aſſerted his own innocence; but when their depoſitions and the papers themſelves were produced, aſtoniſhed at their treachery, he acknowledged his guilt, and implored the queen's mercy. His offence was too heinous, and too often repeated, to obtain pardon; and Elizabeth thought it neceſſary to deter her ſubjects, by his puniſhment, from holding correſpondence with the queen of Scots, or her emiſſaries. Being tried by his peers, he was found guilty of high treaſon, and, after ſeveral delays, ſuffered death for the crime †.

The diſcovery of this conſpiracy produced many ef-

§ Anderſ. iii. 161.

† Anderſ. iii. 149. State Trials, 185.

fects extremely detrimental to Mary's intereſt. The biſhop of Roſs, who appeared, by the confeſſion of all concerned, to be the prime mover in every cabal againſt Elizabeth, was taken into cuſtody, his papers ſearched, himſelf committed to the Tower, treated with the utmoſt rigour, threatened with capital puniſhment, and after a long confinement, ſet at liberty, on condition that he ſhould leave the kingdom. Mary was not only deprived of a ſervant, equally eminent for his zeal and his abilities, but was denied from that time the privilege of having an ambaſſador at the Engliſh court. The Spaniſh ambaſſador, whom the power and dignity of the prince he repreſented exempted from ſuch inſults as Roſs had ſuffered, was commanded to leave England §. Mary herſelf was kept under a ſtricter guard than formerly, the number of her domeſtics abridged, and no perſon permitted to ſee her, but in preſence of her keepers ‖.

At the ſame time, Elizabeth, foreſeeing the ſtorm which was gathering on the continent againſt her kingdom, began to wiſh that tranquillity were reſtored in Scotland; and irritated by Mary's late attempt againſt her government, ſhe determined to act, without diſguiſe or ambiguity, in favour of the king's party. This reſolution ſhe intimated to the leaders of both factions. Mary, ſhe told them, had held ſuch a criminal correſpondence with her avowed enemies, and had excited ſuch dangerous conſpiracies both againſt her crown and her life, that ſhe would henceforth conſider her as unworthy of protection, and would never conſent to reſtore her to liberty, far leſs to replace her on her throne. She exhorted them, therefore, to unite in acknowledging the king's authority. She promiſed to procure by her mediation equitable terms for thoſe who had hitherto oppoſed it. But if they ſtill continued refractory, ſhe threatened to employ her utmoſt power to compel them to ſubmit †. Though this declaration did not produce an immediate effect; though hoſtilities continued in the

§ Digges, 163. ‖ Strype, Ann. ii. 50.
† See Append. No. IV.

neighbourhood of Edinburgh; though Huntly's brother, ſir Adam Gordon, by his bravery and good conduct, had routed the king's adherents in the north in many encounters; yet ſuch an explicit diſcovery of Elizabeth's ſentiments contributed not a little to animate one party and to depreſs the ſpirit and hopes of the other *.

As Morton, who commanded the regent's forces, lay at Leith, and Kirkaldy ſtill held out the town and caſtle of Edinburgh, ſcarce a day paſſed without a ſkirmiſh; and while both avoided any deciſive action, they haraſſed each other by attacking ſmall parties, beating up quarters, and intercepting convoys. Theſe operations, though little memorable in themſelves, kept the paſſions of both factions in perpetual exerciſe and agitation, and wrought them up, at laſt, to a degree of fury, which rendered them regardleſs not only of the laws of war, but of the principles of humanity. Nor was it in the field alone, and during the heat of combat, that this implacable rage appeared; both parties hanged the priſoners they took, of whatever rank or quality, without mercy, and without trial. Great numbers ſuffered in this ſhocking manner; and the unhappy victims were led, by fifties at a time, to execution; and it was not till both ſides had ſmarted ſeverely, that they diſcontinued this barbarous practice, ſo reproachful to the character of the nation †. Mean while thoſe in the town and caſtle, though they had received a ſupply of money from the duke of Alva ‖, began to ſuffer for want of proviſions. As Morton had deſtroyed all the mills in the neighbourhood of the city, and had planted ſmall garriſons in all the houſes of ſtrength around it, ſcarcity daily encreaſed. At laſt all the miſeries of famine were felt, and they muſt have been ſoon reduced to ſuch extremities, as would have forced them to capitulate, if the Engliſh and French ambaſſadors had not procured a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities between the two parties §.

Though the negotiation for a marriage between Eli-

* Cald. ii. 289, 294. Strype, ii. 76.
† Crawf. Mem. 218, 220. ‖ Cald. ii. 345. § Ibid. 346.

zabeth and the duke of Anjou had been fruitleſs, both Charles and ſhe were deſirous of concluding a defenſive alliance between the two crowns. He conſidered ſuch a treaty, not only as the beſt device for blinding the proteſtants, the conſpiracy againſt whom was now almoſt ripe for execution; but as a good precaution likewiſe againſt the dangerous conſequences to which that atrocious meaſure might expoſe him Elizabeth, who had hitherto reigned without a ſingle ally, now ſaw her kingdom ſo threatened with inteſtine commotions, or expoſed to invaſions from abroad, that ſhe was extremely ſolicitous to ſecure the aſſiſtance of ſo powerful a neighbour. The difficulties ariſing from the ſituation of the Scottiſh queen were the chief occaſions of any delay. Charles demanded ſome terms of advantage for Mary and her adherents. Elizabeth refuſed to liſten to any propoſition of that kind. Her obſtinacy overcame the faint efforts of the French monarch. Mary's name was not ſo much as mentioned in the treaty; and with regard to Scottiſh affairs, a ſhort article was inſerted, in general and ambiguous terms, to this purpoſe; "That the parties contracting ſhall make no innovations in Scotland; nor ſuffer any ſtranger to enter, and to foment the factions there; but it ſhall be lawful for the queen of England to chaſtiſe by force of arms, thoſe Scots who ſhall continue to harbour the Engliſh rebels now in Scotland¶."

In conſequence of this treaty, France and England affected to act in concert with regard to Scotland, and Le Croc and ſir William Drury appeared there, in name of their reſpective ſovereigns. By their mediation, a truce for two months was agreed upon, and during that time conferences were to be held between the leaders of the oppoſite factions, in order to accommodate their differences and reſtore peace to the kingdom. This truce afforded a ſeaſonable interval of tranquillity to the queen's adherents in the ſouth: but in the north it proved fatal to her intereſt. Sir Adam Gordon had ſtill maintained his reputation and ſuperiority there. Se-

¶ Digges, 170, 191. Camd. 444.

veral parties, under different officers, were ſent againſt him. Some of them he attacked in the field; againſt others he employed ſtratagem; and as his courage and conduct were equal, none of his enterpriſes failed of ſucceſs. He made war too with the humanity which became ſo gallant a man, and gained ground by that, no leſs than by the terror of his arms. If he had not been obliged by the truce to ſuſpend his operations, he would in all probability have brought that part of the kingdom to ſubmit entirely to the queen's authority‡.

Notwithſtanding Gordon's bravery and ſucceſs, Mary's intereſt was on the decline, not only in her own kingdom, but among the Engliſh. Nothing could be more offenſive to that nation, jealous of foreigners, and terrified at the proſpect of the Spaniſh yoke, than her negotiations with the duke of Alva. The parliament, which met in May, proceeded againſt her as the moſt dangerous enemy of the kingdom; and after a ſolemn conference between the lords and commons, both houſes agreed in bringing in a bill to declare her guilty of high treaſon, and to deprive her of all right of ſucceſſion to the crown. This *great cauſe* as it was then called, occupied them during the whole ſeſſion, and was carried on with much unanimity. Elizabeth, though ſhe applauded their zeal, and approved much of the courſe they were taking, was ſatisfied with ſhowing Mary what ſhe might expect from the reſentment of the nation; but as ſhe did not yet think it time to proceed to the moſt violent extremity againſt her, ſhe prorogued the parliament *.

Theſe ſevere proceedings of the Engliſh parliament were not more mortifying to Mary, than the coldneſs and neglect of her allies the French. The duke of Montmorency, who came over to ratify the league with Elizabeth, made a ſhew of intereſting himſelf in her favour; but, inſtead of ſoliciting for her liberty, or her reſtoration to her throne, all that he demanded was a ſlight mitigation of the rigour of her impriſonment. And even this ſmall requeſt he urged with ſo

‡ Crawf. Mem. * D'Ewes, Journ. 206, &c.

little warmth or importunity, that no regard was paid to it †.

The alliance with France afforded Elizabeth much satisfaction, and she expected from it a great increase of security. She now turned her whole attention towards Scotland, where the animosities of the two factions were still so high, and so many interfering interests to be adjusted, that a general pacification seemed to be at a great distance. But while she laboured to bring them to some agreement, an event happened which filled a great part of Europe with astonishment and with horror. This was the massacre at Paris; an attempt, to which there is no parallel in the history of mankind, either for the dissimulation which led to it, or for the cruelty and barbarity with which it was put in execution. By the most solemn promises of safety and of favour, the leaders of the protestants were drawn to court; and though doomed to destruction, they were received with caresses, loaded with honours, and treated, for seven months, with every possible mark of familiarity and of confidence. In the midst of their security, the warrant for their destruction was issued Aug. 24, 1572, by their sovereign, on whose word they had relied; and, in obedience to it, their countrymen, their fellow-citizens and companions, imbrued their hands in their blood. Ten thousand protestants, without distinction of age, or sex, or condition, were murdered in Paris alone. The same barbarous orders were sent to other parts of the kingdom, and a like carnage ensued. This deed, which no popish writer, in the present age, mentions without detestation, was at that time applauded in Spain; and at Rome solemn thanksgivings were offered to God for its success. But among the protestants, it excited incredible horror; a striking picture of which is drawn by the French ambassador at the court of England, in his account of his first audience after the massacre. "A gloomy sorrow," says he, "sat on every face; silence, as in the dead of night, reigned thro' all the chambers of the royal apartment; the ladies

† Jebb, ii. 512.

and courtiers were ranged on each ſide, all clad in deep mourning, and as I paſſed through them, not one beſtowed on me a civil look, or made the leaſt return to my ſalutes *."

But horror was not the only paſſion with which this event inſpired the proteſtants; it filled them with fear. They conſidered it as the prelude to ſome greater blow, and believed, not without great probability, that all the popiſh princes had conſpired the deſtruction of their ſect. This opinion was of no ſmall diſſervice to Mary's affairs in Scotland. Many of her adherents were proteſtants; and though they wiſhed her reſtoration, were not willing, however, on that account, to ſacrifice the faith which they profeſſed. They dreaded her attachment to a religion, which allowed its votaries to violate the moſt ſolemn engagements, and prompted them to perpetrate the moſt barbarous crimes. A general confederacy of the proteſtants ſeemed to them, the only thing that could uphold the Reformation, againſt the league which was formed to overturn it. Nor could the preſent eſtabliſhment of religion be long maintained in Britain, but by a ſtrict union with Elizabeth, and by the concurrence of both nations, in eſpouſing the defence of it, as a common cauſe †.

The regent took hold of this favourable conjuncture for negotiating a general peace. And as he laboured for this purpoſe, with the utmoſt zeal, and the adverſe faction placed entire confidence in his integrity, his endeavours could ſcarce have failed of being ſucceſsful. Maitland and Kirkaldy came ſo near to an agreement with him, that ſcarce any thing remained, except the formality of ſigning the treaty. But Morton had not forgotten the diſappointment he met with in his pretenſions to the regency; his abilities, his wealth, and the patronage of the court of England, gave him greater ſway with the party, than even the regent himſelf; and he took pleaſure in thwarting every meaſure purſued by him. He was afraid that if Maitland and his aſſociates recovered any ſhare in the adminiſtration, his own

* Carte, iii. 522. † Digges, 244, 267.

influence would be considerably diminished; and the regent, by their means, would regain that ascendent, which belonged to his station. With him, concurred all those, who were in possession of the lands, which belonged to any of the queen's party. And his ambition, and their avarice, frustrated the regent's pious intentions, and retarded a blessing so necessary to the kingdom, as the establishment of peace†.

Such a discovery of the selfishness and ambition which reigned among his party, made a deep impression on the regent, who loved his country, and wished for peace with much ardour. This inward grief broke his spirit, and by degrees brought on a settled melancholy, that ended in a distemper, of which he died on the 29th of October. He was, perhaps, the only person in the kingdom who could have enjoyed the office of regent without envy, and have left it without loss of reputation. Notwithstanding their mutual animosities, both factions acknowledged his views to be honourable, and his integrity to be uncorrupted*.

No competitor now appeared against Morton. The queen of England powerfully supported his claim; and notwithstanding the fears of the people, and the jealousy of the nobles, he was elected regent; the fourth who, in the space of five years had held that dangerous office.

As the truce had been prolonged to the first of January, this gave him an opportunity of continuing the negotiations with the opposite party, which had been set on foot by his predecessor. They produced no effects, however, till the beginning of the next year.

Before we proceed to these, some events, hitherto untouched, deserve our notice.

The earl of Northumberland, who had been kept prisoner in Lochlevin ever since his flight into Scotland in the year 1569, was given up to lord Hunsdon, governor of Berwick; and being carried to York, suffered there the punishment of his rebellion. The king's party depended so entirely on Elizabeth's protection, that it was scarce possible for them to refuse putting into her hands

† Melv. 233. Crawf. Mem. 237. * Crawf. Mem. 241.

a perſon who had taken up arms againſt her; but as a ſum of money was paid on that account, and ſhared between Morton and Douglas of Lochlevin, the former of whom, during his exile in England, had been much indebted to Northumberland's friendſhip, the abandoning this unhappy nobleman, in ſuch a manner, to certain deſtruction, was deemed an ungrateful and mercenary action†.

This year was remarkable for a conſiderable innovation in the government of the church. Soon after the Reformation, the popiſh biſhops had been confirmed by law in poſſeſſion of part of their benefices; the ſpiritual juriſdiction, which belonged to their order, was exerciſed by ſuperintendents, but with more moderate authority. On the death of the archbiſhop of St. Andrews, Morton obtained from the crown a grant of the temporalities of that ſee. But as it was thought indecent for a layman to hold a benefice to which the cure of ſouls was annexed, he procured Douglas, rector of the univerſity of St. Andrews, to be choſen archbiſhop; and, alloting him a ſmall penſion out of the revenues of the ſee, retained the remainder in his own hands. The nobles, who ſaw the advantages they might reap from ſuch a practice, ſupported him in the execution of his plan. It gave great offence, however, to the clergy, who, inſtead of perpetuating an order whoſe name and power was odious to them, wiſhed that the revenues which had belonged to it might be employed in ſupplying ſuch pariſhes as were ſtill unprovided with ſettled paſtors. But, on the one hand, it would have been raſh in the clergy to have irritated too much noblemen, on whom the very exiſtence of the proteſtant church in Scotland depended; and Morton, on the other, conducted his ſcheme with ſuch dexterity, and managed them with ſo much art, that it was at laſt agreed, in a convention compoſed of the leading men among the clergy, together with a committee of privy council, "That the name and office of archbiſhop and biſhop ſhould be continued during the king's minority, and theſe dignities be

† Crawf. 55, 232. Camd. 445.

conferred upon the beſt qualified among the proteſtant miniſters; but that, with regard to their ſpiritual juriſdictions, they ſhould be ſubject to the general aſſembly of the church." The rules to be obſerved in their election, and the perſons who were to ſupply the place, and enjoy the privileges which belonged to the dean and chapter in times of popery, were likewiſe particularly ſpecified*. The whole being laid before the general aſſembly, after ſome exceptions to the name of *archbiſhop*, *dean*, *chapter*, &c. and a proteſtation that it ſhould be conſidered only as a temporary conſtitution, until one more perfect could be introduced, it obtained the approbation of that court†. Even Knox, who was prevented from attending the aſſembly by the ill ſtate of his health, tho' he declaimed loudly againſt the ſimoniacal paction to which Douglas owed his preferment, and blamed the nomination of a perſon worn out with age and infirmities, to an office which required unimpaired vigour both of body and mind, ſeems not to have condemned the proceedings of the convention; and, in a letter to the aſſembly, recommended ſome of their regulations with reſpect to the election of biſhops, as worthy of being carefully obſerved‡. In conſequence of the aſſembly's conſent to the plan agreed upon in the convention, Douglas was inſtalled in his office; and at the ſame time an archbiſhop of Glaſgow, and a biſhop of Dunkeld, were choſen from among the proteſtant clergy. They were all admitted to the place in parliament which belonged to the eccleſiaſtical order. But, in imitation of the example ſet by Morton, ſuch pactions were made with them by different noblemen, as gave them poſſeſſion only of a very ſmall part of the revenues belonging to their ſees‖.

Soon after the diſſolution of this aſſembly, Knox, the prime inſtrument of ſpreading and eſtabliſhing the reformed religion in Scotland, ended his life, in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age. Zeal, intrepidity, diſintereſtedneſs, were virtues which he poſſeſſed in an eminent

* Cald. ii. 305. † Id. 354. ‡ See Append. No. V.
‖ Spotſ. 261.

degree. He was acquainted too with the learning cultivated among divines in that age; and excelled in that ſpecies of eloquence which is calculated to rouſe and to inflame. His maxims, however, were often too ſevere, and the impetuoſity of his temper exceſſive. Rigid and uncomplying himſelf, he ſhewed no indulgence to the infirmities of others. Regardleſs of the diſtinction of rank and character, he uttered his admonitions with an acrimony and vehemence, more apt to irritate than to reclaim. This often betrayed him into indecent and undutiful expreſſions with reſpect to the queen's perſon and conduct. Thoſe very qualities, however, which now render his character leſs amiable, fitted him to be the inſtrument of Providence for advancing the Reformation among a fierce people, and enabled him to face dangers, and to ſurmount oppoſition, from which a perſon of a more gentle ſpirit would have been apt to ſhrink back. By an unwearied application to ſtudy and to buſineſs, as well as by the frequency and fervour of his public diſcourſes, he had worn out a conſtitution naturally robuſt. During a lingering illneſs he diſcovered the utmoſt fortitude; and met the approaches of death with a magnanimity inſeparable from his character. He was conſtantly employed in acts of devotion, and comforted himſelf with thoſe proſpects of immortality which not only preſerve good men from deſponding, but fill them with exultation in their laſt moments. The earl of Morton, who was preſent at his funeral, pronounced his eulogium in a few words, the more honourable for Knox as they came from one whom he had often cenſured with peculiar ſeverity: "There lies He, who never feared the face of man §."

Though Morton did not deſire peace from ſuch generous motives as the former regent, he laboured, however in good earneſt, to eſtabliſh it. The public confuſions and calamities to which he owed his power and importance when he was only the ſecond perſon

§ Id. 266. Cald. ii. 273.

in the nation, were extremely detrimental to him, now that he was raiſed to be the firſt. While ſo many of the nobles continued in arms againſt him, his authority as regent was partial, feeble, and precarious. Elizabeth was no leſs deſirous of extinguiſhing the flame which ſhe had kindled and kept ſo long alive in Scotland†. She had diſcovered the alliance with France, from which ſhe had expected ſuch advantages, to be no foundation of ſecurity. Though appearances of friendſhip ſtill ſubſiſted between her and that court, and Charles daily renewed his proteſtations of inviolable adherence to the treaty, ſhe was convinced, by a fatal example, how little ſhe ought to rely on the promiſes or oaths of that perfidious monarch. Her ambaſſador warned her that the French held ſecret correſpondence with Mary's adherents in Scotland, and encouraged them in their obſtinacy‖. The duke of Alva carried on his intrigues in that kingdom with leſs diſguiſe. She was perſuaded that they would embrace the firſt ſerene interval, which the commotions in France and in the Netherlands would allow them, and openly attempt to land in Scotland. She reſolved, therefore, to prevent their getting any footing in the iſland, and to cut off all their hopes of finding any aſſiſtance there by uniting the two parties.

The ſituation of Mary's adherents enabled the regent to carry on his negotiations with them to great advantage. They were now divided into two factions. At the head of the one were Chatelherault and Huntly. Maitland and Kirkaldy were the leaders of the other. Their high rank, their extenſive property, and the numbers of their followers, rendered the former conſiderable. The latter were indebted for their importance to their perſonal abilities, and to the ſtrength of the caſtle of Edinburgh, which was in their poſſeſſion. The regent had no intention to comprehend both in the ſame treaty; but as he dreaded that the queen's party, if it remained entire, would be able to thwart and embarraſs his adminiſtration, he reſolved to divide and

† Digges, 299. ‖ Id. 296, 312.

weaken it, by a ſeparate negotiation. He made the firſt overture to Kirkaldy and his aſſociates, and endeavoured to renew the negotiation with them, which, during the life of his predeceſſor, had been broken off by his own artifices. But Kirkaldy knew Morton's views and ſyſtem of government to be very different from thoſe of the former regent. Maitland conſidered him as a perſonal and implacable enemy. They received repeated aſſurances of protection from France; and though the ſiege of Rochelle employed the French arms at that time, the ſame hopes, which had ſo often deceived the party, ſtill amuſed them, and they expected that the obſtinacy of the hugonots would ſoon be ſubdued, and that Charles would then be at liberty to act with vigour in Scotland. Mean while, a ſupply of money was ſent, and if the caſtle could be held out till Whitſunday, effectual aid was promiſed*. Maitland's genius delighted in forming ſchemes that were enterpriſing and dangerous; and Kirkaldy poſſeſſed the intrepidity neceſſary for putting them in execution. The caſtle, they knew, was ſo ſituated, that it might defy all the regent's power. Elizabeth, they hoped, would not violate the treaty with France, by ſending forces to his aſſiſtance; and if the French ſhould be able to land any conſiderable body of men, it might be poſſible to deliver the queen from captivity, or at leaſt to balance the influence of France and England in ſuch a manner, as to reſcue Scotland from the diſhonourable dependence upon the latter, under which it had fallen. This ſplendid but chimerical project they preferred to the friendſhip of Morton. They encouraged the negotiation, however, becauſe it ſerved to gain time; they propoſed, for the ſame purpoſe, that the whole of the queen's party ſhould be comprehended in it, and that Kirkaldy ſhould retain the command of the caſtle ſix months after the treaty was ſigned. His intereſt prompted the regent to reject the former; his penetra-

* Digges 314.

tion ſuggeſted the danger of complying with the latter; and all hopes of accommodation vaniſhed‡.

As ſoon as the truce expired, Kirkaldy began to fire on the city of Edinburgh, which, by the return of the inhabitants whom he had expelled, was devoted as zealouſly as ever to the king's cauſe. But as the regent had now ſet on foot a treaty with Chatelherault and Huntly, the ceſſation of arms ſtill continued with them.

They were leſs ſcrupulous than the other party, and liſtened eagerly to his overtures. The duke was naturally unſteady, and the approach of old age increaſed his irreſolution, and averſion to action. The miſeries of civil diſcord had afflicted Scotland almoſt five years, a length of time far beyond the duration of any former conteſt. The war, inſtead of doing ſervice, had been detrimental to the queen; and more ruinous than any foreign invaſion to the kingdom. In proſecuting it, neither party had gained much honour; both had ſuffered great loſſes, and had exhauſted their own eſtates, in waſting thoſe of their adverſaries. The commons were in the utmoſt miſery, and longed ardently for a peace, which might terminate this fruitleſs but deſtructive quarrel.

A great ſtep was taken towards this deſirable event, by the treaty concluded at Perth, between the regent on one hand, and Chatelherault and Huntly on the other, under the mediation of Killegrew, Elizabeth's ambaſſador†. The chief articles in it were theſe; that all the parties comprehended in the treaty ſhould declare their approbation of the reformed religion, now eſtabliſhed in the kingdom; that they ſhould ſubmit to the king's government, and own Morton's authority as regent; that they ſhould acknowledge every thing done in oppoſition to the king, ſince his coronation, to be illegal; that on both ſides the priſoners who had been taken ſhould be ſet at liberty, and the lands reſtored to their proper owners; that the act of attainder paſſed againſt the queen's adherents ſhould be repealed, and

‡ Melv. 235, &c. † See Append. No. VI.

indemnity granted for all the crimes of which they had been guilty ſince the fifteenth of June, 1567; and that the treaty ſhould be ratified by the common conſent of both parties in parliament †.

Kirkaldy, though abandoned by his aſſociates, who neither diſcovered ſolicitude nor made proviſion for his ſafety, did not loſe courage, nor entertain any thoughts of accommodation §. Though all Scotland had now ſubmitted to the king, he ſtill reſolved to defend the caſtle in the queen's name, and to wait the arrival of the promiſed ſuccours. The regent was in want of every thing neceſſary for carrying on a ſiege. But Elizabeth, who determined at any rate to bring the diſſenſions in Scotland to a period, before the French could find leiſure to take part in the quarrel, ſoon afforded him ſufficient ſupplies. Sir William Drury marched into Scotland with fifteen hundred foot, and a conſiderable train of artillery. The regent joined him with all his forces; and trenches were opened, and approaches regularly carried on againſt the caſtle. Kirkaldy, though diſcouraged by the loſs of a great ſum

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†Crawf. Mem. 251.

§ Melvil, whoſe brother, ſir Robert, was one of thoſe who joined with Kirkaldy in the defence of the caſtle, and who was himſelf ſtrongly attached to their party, aſſerts that Kirkaldy offered to accept of any reaſonable terms of compoſition, but that all his offers were rejected by the regent. Melv. 240. But as Elizabeth was, at that time, extremely deſirous of reſtoring peace in Scotland, and her ambaſſador Killegrew, as well as the earl of Rothes, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to perſuade Kirkaldy to accede to the treaty of Perth, it ſeems more credible to impute the continuance of hoſtilities to Kirkaldy's obſtinacy, his diſtruſt of Morton, or his hope of foreign aid, than to any other cauſe.

That this was really the caſe is evident from the poſitive teſtimony of Spotſw. 269, 270. Camd. 448. Johnſt. Hiſt. 3, 4. Digges, 334. Crawford's account agrees, the main, with theirs, Mem. 263.

of money, remitted to him from France, and which fell into the regent's hands through the treachery of sir James Balfour, the most corrupt man of that age, defended himself with bravery, augmented by despair. Three-and-thirty days he resisted all the efforts of the Scots and English, who pushed on their attacks with courage, and with emulation. Nor did he demand a parley, till the fortifications were battered down, and one of the wells in the castle dried up, and the other choaked with rubbish. Even then, his spirit was unsubdued, and he determined rather to fall gloriously behind the last intrenchment, than to yield to his inveterate enemies. But his garrison was not animated with the same heroic or desperate resolution, and, rising in a mutiny, forced him to capitulate. He surrendered himself to Drury, who promised in the name of his mistress, that he should be favourably treated. Together with him, James Kirkaldy his brother, lord Home, Maitland, sir Robert Melvil, a few citizens of Edinburgh, and about one hundred and sixty soldiers, were made prisoners *.

Several of the officers, who had been kept in pay during the war, prevailed on their men to accompany them into the Low-countries, and entering into the service of the states, added, by their gallant behaviour, to the reputation for military virtue, which has always been the characteristic of the Scottish nation.

Thus by the treaty with Chatelherault and Huntly, and the surrender of the castle, the civil wars in Scotland were brought to a period. When we review the state of the nation, and compare the strength of the two factions, Mary's partisans among the nobles appear, manifestly, to have been superior both in numbers and in power. But these advantages were more than counterbalanced by others, which their antagonists enjoyed. Political abilities, military skill, and all the talents which times of action form, or call forth, appeared chiefly on the king's side. Nor could their enemies boast of any man, who equalled the intre-

* Cald. ii. 408. Melv. 240. Crawf. Mem. 265.

pidity of Murray, tempered with wiſdom; the profound ſagacity of Morton; the ſubtle genius, and inſinuating addreſs of Maitland; or the ſucceſsful valour of Kirkaldy; all which were, at firſt, employed in laying the foundations of the king's authority. On the one ſide, meaſures were concerted with prudence, and executed with vigour; on the other, their reſolutions were raſh, and their conduct feeble. The people, animated with zeal for religion, and prompted by indignation againſt the queen, warmly ſupported the king's cauſe. The clergy threw the whole weight of their popularity into the ſame ſcale. By means of theſe, as well as by the powerful interpoſition of England, the king's government was finally eſtabliſhed. Mary loſt even that ſhadow of ſovereignty, which, amidſt all her ſufferings, ſhe had hitherto retained among her own ſubjects. And as ſhe was no longer permitted to have an ambaſſador at the court of England, the only mark of dignity which ſhe had, for ſome time, enjoyed there, ſhe muſt henceforth be conſidered as an exile ſtripped of all the enſigns of royalty; guarded with anxiety in the one kingdom, and totally deſerted or forgotten in the other.

Kirkaldy and his aſſociates remained in Drury's cuſtody, and were treated by him with great humanity, until the queen of England, whoſe priſoners they were, ſhould determine their fate. Morton inſiſted that they ſhould ſuffer the puniſhment due to their rebellion and obſtinacy; and declared that ſo long as they were allowed to live, he did not reckon his own perſon or authority ſecure; and Elizabeth, without regarding Drury's honour, or his promiſes in her name, abandoned them to the regent's diſpoſal. He firſt confined them to ſeparate priſons; and ſoon after, with Elizabeth's conſent, condemned Kirkaldy, and his brother, to be hanged at the croſs of Edinburgh. Maitland, who did not expect to be treated more favourably, prevented the ignominy of a public execution, by a voluntary death, and "ended his days," ſays Melvil, "after "the old Roman faſhion."

While the regent was wreaking his vengeance on

the remains of her party in Scotland, Mary, incapable of affording them any relief, bewailed their misfortunes in the ſolitude of her priſon. At the ſame time her health began to be much impaired by confinement and want of exerciſe. At the entreaty of the French ambaſſador, lord Shrewſbury her keeper, was permitted to carry her to Buxton-wells, not far from Tuthbury, the place of her impriſonment. Cecil, who had lately been created baron of Burleigh, and lord high treaſurer of England, happened to be there at the ſame time. Though no miniſter ever entered more warmly into the views of a ſovereign, or gave ſtronger proofs of his fidelity and attachment, than this great man, yet ſuch was Elizabeth's diſtruſt of every perſon who approached the queen of Scots, that her ſuſpicions, in conſequence of this interview, ſeem to have extended even to him; and, while Mary juſtly reckoned him her moſt dangerous enemy, he found ſome difficulty in perſuading his own miſtreſs that he was not partial to that unhappy queen *.

The duke of Alva was this year recalled from the government of the Netherlands, where his haughty and oppreſſive adminiſtration rouſed a ſpirit, in attempting to ſubdue which, Spain exhauſted its treaſures, ruined its armies, and loſt its glory. Requeſens, who ſucceeded him, was of a milder temper, and of a leſs enterpriſing genius. This event delivered Elizabeth from the perpetual diſquietude, occaſioned by Alva's negotiations with the Scottiſh queen, and his zeal for her intereſt.

Though the kingdom was now ſettled in profound peace, many of the evils which accompany civil war were ſtill felt. The reſtraints of law, which, in times of public confuſion, are little regarded even by civilized nations, were totally deſpiſed by fierce people, unaccuſtomed to the regular adminiſtration of juſtice. The diſorders in every corner of the kingdom were become intolerable; and, under the protection of the one or the other faction, crimes of every kind were committed

* Strype, ii. 248, 288.

with impunity. The regent ſet himſelf to redreſs theſe, and by his induſtry and vigour, order and ſecurity were re-eſtabliſhed in the kingdom. But he loſt the reputation due to this important ſervice, by the avarice which he diſcovered in performing it; and his own exactions became more pernicious to the nation than all the irregularities which he reſtrained §. Spies and informers were every where employed; the remembrance of old offences was revived; imaginary crimes were invented; petty treſpaſſes were aggravated; and delinquents were forced to compound for their lives, by the payment of exorbitant fines. At the ſame time the current coin was debaſed †; licences were ſold for carrying on prohibited branches of commerce, unuſual taxes were impoſed on commodities; and all the refinements in oppreſſion, from which nations ſo imperfectly poliſhed as the Scots are uſually exempted, were put in practice. None of theſe were complained of more loudly, or with greater reaſon, than his injuſtice towards the church. The thirds of benefices, out of which the clergy received their ſubſiſtence, had been ſlowly and irregularly paid to collectors appointed by the general aſſembly; and, during the civil wars, no payment could be obtained in ſeveral parts of the kingdom. Under colour of redreſſing this grievance, and upon a promiſe of aſſigning every miniſter a ſtipend

§ See Append. No. VII.

† The corruption of the coin, during Morton's adminiſtration, was very great. Although the quantity of current money coined out of a pound of bullion, was gradually increaſed by former princes; the ſtandard or fineneſs ſuffered little alteration, and the mixture of alloy was nearly the ſame with what is now uſed. But Morton mixed a fourth part of alloy with every pound of ſilver, and ſunk, by conſequence, the value of coin in proportion. In the year 1581, all the money coined by him was called in, and appointed to be recoined. The ſtandard was reſtored to the ſame purity as formerly. Ruddim. Præf. to Anderſ. Diplom. p. 74.

within his own parish, the regent extorted from the church the thirds to which they had right by law. But the clergy, instead of reaping any advantage from this alteration, found that payments became more irregular and dilatory than ever. One minister with a pitiful salary, was commonly burdened with the care of four or five parishes, and the regent's insatiable avarice seized on the rest of the fund *.

The death of Charles IX. which happened this year, was a new misfortune to the Scottish queen. Henry III. who succeeded him, had not the same attachment to her person; and his jealousy of the house of Guise, and obsequiousness to the queen's mother, greatly alienated him from her interest. The death of the duke of Chatelherault must likewise be considered as some loss to Mary. As the parliament had frequently declared him next heir to the crown, this entitled him to great respect among his countrymen, and enabled him, more than any other person in the kingdom, to counterbalance the regent's power.

Soon after, at one of the usual interviews between the wardens of the Scottish and English marches, a scuffle happened, in which the English were worsted; a few killed on the spot; and sir James Forester, the warden, with several gentlemen who attended him, taken prisoners. But both Elizabeth and the regent were too sensible of the advantage which resulted from the good understanding that subsisted between the two kingdoms, to allow this slight accident to interrupt it.

The domestic tranquillity of the kingdom was in some danger of being disturbed by another cause. Though the persons raised to the dignity of bishops possessed very small revenues, and a very moderate degree of power, the clergy, to whom the regent and all his measures were become extremely odious, began to be jealous of that order. Knowing that corruptions steal into the church gradually, under honourable names, and upon decent pretences, they were afraid

* Crawf. Mem. 272. Spotf. 273. Cald. ii. 420. 427.

that, from ſuch ſmall beginnings, the hierarchy might grow in time to be as powerful and oppreſſive as ever. The chief author of theſe ſuſpicions was Mr. Andrew Melvil, a man diſtinguiſhed by his uncommon erudition, by the ſeverity of his manners, and the intrepidity of his mind. But, bred up in the retirement of an academy, he was unacquainted with the arts of life; and being more attentive to the ends which he purſued, than to the means which he employed for promoting them, he often defeated laudable deſigns, by the impetuoſity and imprudence with which he carried them on. A queſtion was moved by him in the aſſembly, "whether the office of biſhop, as now exerciſed in the kingdom, were agreeable to the word of God?" In the eccleſiaſtical judicatories, continual complaints were made of the biſhops for neglect of duty, many of which their known remiſſneſs too well juſtified. The biſhop of Dunkeld, being accuſed of dilapidating his benefice, was found guilty by the aſſembly. And the regent, inſtead of checking, connived at theſe diſputes about eccleſiaſtical government, as they diverted the zeal of the clergy from attending to his daily encroachments on the patrimony of the church *.

The weight of the regent's oppreſſive adminiſtration had, hitherto, fallen chiefly on thoſe in the lower and middle rank, but he began now to take ſuch ſteps as convinced the nobles, that their dignity would not long exempt them from feeling the effects of his power. An accident, which was a frequent cauſe of diſſenſion among the Scottiſh nobles, occaſioned a difference between the earls of Argyll and Athol. A vaſſal of the former had made ſome depredations on the lands of the latter. Athol took arms to puniſh the offender; Argyll, to protect him; and this ignoble quarrel they were ready to decide in the field, when the regent, by interpoſing his authority, obliged them to diſband their forces. Both of them had been guilty of irregularities, which, though common were contrary to the letter of the law. Of theſe the regent took advantage, and reſolved to

* Cald. Aſſemblies, 1574, &c. Johnſt. Hiſt. 15.

found them on a charge of treaſon. This deſign was revealed to the two earls by one of Morton's retainers. The common danger to which they were expoſed, compelled them to forget old quarrels, and to unite in a cloſe confederacy for their mutual defence. Their junction rendered them formidable; they deſpiſed the ſummons which the regent gave them to appear before a court of juſtice; and he was obliged to deſiſt from any further proſecution. But the injury he intended made a deep impreſſion, and drew on him ſevere vengeance *.

Nor was he more ſucceſsful in an attempt which he made, to load lord Claud Hamilton with the guilt of having formed a conſpiracy againſt his life. Though thoſe who were ſuppoſed to be his accomplices, were ſeized and tortured, no evidence of any thing criminal appeared; but, on the contrary, many circumſtances diſcovered his innocence, as well as the regent's ſecret views, in imputing to him ſuch an odious deſign †.

The Scottiſh nobles, who were almoſt equal to their monarchs in power, and treated by them with much diſtinction, obſerved theſe arbitrary proceedings of a regent with the utmoſt indignation. The people, who under a form of government extremely ſimple, had been little accuſtomed to the burden of taxes, complained loudly of the regent's rapacity. And all began to turn their eyes towards the young king, from whom they expected the redreſs of all their grievances, and return of a more gentle and more equal adminiſtration.

James was now in the twelfth year of his age. The queen, ſoon after his birth, had committed him to the care of the earl of Mar, and, during the civil wars he had reſided ſecurely in the caſtle of Stirling. Alexander Erſkine, that nobleman's brother, had the chief direction of his education. Under him was the famous Buchanan, together with three other preceptors, the moſt eminent the nation afforded for ſkill in thoſe ſciences which were deemed neceſſary for a prince. The

* Crawf. Mem. 285. † Ibid. 287.

young king ſhewed an uncommon paſſion for learning, and made great progreſs in it; and the Scots fancied that they already diſcovered in him all thoſe virtues which the fondneſs and credulity of ſubjects uſually aſcribe to princes during their minority. But, as James was ſtill far from that age, at which he was permitted by law to aſſume the reins of government, the regent did not ſufficiently attend to the ſentiments of the people, nor reflect how naturally theſe prejudices in his favour might encourage the king to anticipate that period. He not only neglected to ſecure the friendſhip of thoſe who were about the king's perſon, and who poſſeſſed his ear, but had even exaſperated ſome of them by perſonal injuries. Their reſentment concurred with the ambition of others, in infuſing into the king early ſuſpicions of Morton's power and deſigns. A king they told him, had often reaſon to fear, ſeldom to love, a regent. Prompted by ambition and by intereſt, he would endeavour to keep the prince in perpetual infancy, at a diſtance from his ſubjects, and unacquainted with buſineſs. A ſmall degree of vigour, however, was ſufficient to break the yoke. Subjects naturally reverence their ſovereign, and become impatient of the temporary and delegated juriſdiction of a regent. Morton had governed with a rigour unknown to the ancient monarchs of Scotland. The nation groaned under his oppreſſions, and would welcome the firſt proſpect of a milder adminiſtration. At preſent the king's name was ſcarcely mentioned in Scotland, his friends were without influence, and his favourites without honour. But one effort would diſcover Morton's power to be as feeble as it was arbitrary. The ſame attempt would put himſelf in poſſeſſion of his juſt authority, and reſcue the nation from intolerable tyranny. If he did not regard his own rights as a king, let him liſten, at leaſt to the cries of his people *.

Theſe ſuggeſtions made a deep impreſſion on the

* Melvil, 249.

young king, who was trained up in an opinion that he was born to command. His approbation of the design, however, was of small consequence, without the concurrence of the nobles. The earls of Argyll and Athol, two of the most powerful of that body, were animated with implacable resentment against the regent. To them the cabal in Stirling castle communicated the plot which was on foot; and they entering warmly into it, Alexander Erskine, who, since the death of his brother, and during the minority of his nephew, had the command of that fort, and the custody of the king's person, admitted them secretly into the king's presence. They gave him the same account of the misery of his subjects, under the regent's arbitrary administration; they complained loudly of the injustice with which themselves had been treated, and besought the king, as the only means for redressing the grievances of the nation, to call a council of the whole nobles. James consented, and letters were issued in his name for that purpose; but the two earls took care that they should be sent only to those who were known to bear no good-will to Morton *.

The number of these was, however, so considerable, that on the day appointed, far the greater part of the nobles assembled at Stirling; and so highly were they incensed against Morton, that, although on receiving intelligence of Argyll and Athol's interview with the king, he had made a feint as if he would resign the regency, they advised the king, without regarding this offer, to deprive him of his office, and to take the administration of government into his own hands. Lord Glamis the chancellor, and Herries, were appointed to signify this resolution to Morton, who was at that time in Dalkeith, his usual place of residence. Nothing could equal the joy with which this unexpected resolution filled the nation, but the surprise occasioned by the seeming alacrity with which the regent descended from so high a station. He neither wanted sagacity to foresee the danger of resigning, nor inclina-

* Spotf. 278.

tion to keep poſſeſſion of an office, for the expiration of which the law had fixed ſo diſtant a term. But all the ſources, whence the faction of which he was head, had derived their ſtrength, were either failed, or now ſupplied his adverſaries with the means of humbling him. The commons, the city of Edinburgh, the clergy, were all totally alienated from him, by his multiplied oppreſſions. Elizabeth, having lately bound herſelf by treaty to ſend a conſiderable body of troops to the aſſiſtance of the inhabitants of the Netherlands, who were ſtruggling for liberty, had little leiſure to attend to the affairs of Scotland; and as ſhe had nothing to dread from France, in whoſe councils the princes of Lorrain had not at that time much influence, ſhe was not diſpleaſed, perhaps, at the birth of new factions in the kingdom. Even thoſe nobles, who had long been joined with Morton in faction, or whom he had attached to his perſon by benefits, Glamis, Lindſay, Ruthven, Pitcairn the ſecretary, Murray of Tillibardin comptroller, all deſerted his falling fortunes, and appeared in the council at Stirling. So many concurring circumſtances convinced Morton of his own weakneſs, and determined him to give way to a torrent, which was too impetuous to be reſiſted. He attended the chancellor and Herries to Edinburgh; was preſent when the king's acceptance of the government was proclaimed; and, in the preſence of the people, ſurrendered to the king all the authority to which he had any claim in virtue of his office. This ceremony was accompanied with ſuch exceſſive joy and acclamations of the multitude, as added, no doubt, to the anguiſh which an ambitious ſpirit muſt feel, when compelled to renounce ſupreme power; and convinced Morton how entirely he had loſt the affections of his countrymen. He obtained, however, from the king an act containing the approbation of every thing done by him in the exerciſe of his office, and a pardon, in the moſt ample form that his fear or caution could deviſe, of all paſt offences, crimes, and treaſons. The nobles, who adhered to the king, bound themſelves under a great

penalty, to procure the ratification of this act in the first parliament†.

A council of twelve nobles was appointed to assist the king in the administration of affairs. And Morton, deserted by his own party, and unable to struggle with the faction which governed absolutely at court, retired to one of his seats, and seemed to enjoy the tranquillity, and to be occupied only in the amusements of a country life. His mind, however, was deeply disquieted with all the uneasy reflections which accompany disappointed ambition, and intent on schemes for recovering his former grandeur. Even in this retreat, which the people called the *Lion's Den*, his wealth and abilities rendered him formidable; and the new counsellors were so imprudent as to rouse him, by the precipitancy with which they hastened to strip him of all the remains of power. They required him to surrender the castle of Edinburgh, which was still in his possession. He refused at first to do so, and began to prepare for its defence; but the citizens of Edinburgh having taken arms, and repulsed a part of the garrison, which was sent out to guard a convoy of provisions, he was obliged to give up that important fortress, without resistance. This encouraged his adversaries to call a parliament to meet at Edinburgh, and to multiply their demands upon him, in such a manner as convinced him that nothing less than his utter ruin would satisfy their inveterate hatred.

Their power and popularity, however, began already to decline. The chancellor, the ablest and most moderate man in the party, having been killed at Stirling, in an accidental rencounter between his followers and those of the earl of Crawford; Athol, who was appointed his successor in that high office, the earls of Eglinton, Caithness, and lord Ogilvie, all the prime favourites at court, were either avowed papists, or suspected of leaning to the opinions of that sect. In an age when the return of popery was so much and so justly dreaded, this gave universal alarm. And as Morton had always treated the papists with rigour, this unseasonable indulgence

† Spotf. 278. Crawf. Mem, 289. Cald. ii. 522.

made all zealous proteſtants remember that circumſtance in his adminiſtration with great praiſe†.

Morton, to whom none of theſe particulars were unknown, thought this the proper juncture for ſetting to work the inſtruments which he had been preparing. Having gained the confidence of the earl of Mar, and of the counteſs his mother, he inſinuated to them, that Alexander Erſkine had formed a plot to deprive his nephew of the government of Stirling caſtle, and the cuſtody of the king's perſon; and eaſily induced an ambitious woman, and a youth of twenty, to employ force to prevent this ſuppoſed injury. The earl repairing ſuddenly to Stirling, and being admitted as uſual into the caſtle with his attendants, ſeized the gates early in the morning, and turned out his uncle, who dreaded no danger from his hands. The ſoldiers of the garriſon ſubmitted to him as their governor, and, with little danger and no effuſion of blood, he became maſter both of the king's perſon, and the fortreſs *.

An event ſo unexpected occaſioned great conſternation. And though Morton's hand did not appear in the execution, he was univerſally believed to be the author of the attempt. The new counſellors ſaw it to be neceſſary, for their own ſafety, to change their meaſures, and, inſtead of purſuing him with ſuch implacable reſentment, to enter into terms of accommodation with an adverſary, ſtill ſo capable of creating them trouble. Four were named, on each ſide, to adjuſt their differences. They met not far from Dalkeith; and when they had brought matters near a concluſion, Morton, who was too ſagacious not to improve the advantage which their ſecurity and their attention to the treaty afforded him, ſet out in the night time for Stirling, and having gained Murray of Tillibardin, Mar's uncle, was admitted by him into the caſtle; and managing matters there with his uſual dexterity, he had ſoon more the command of the fort, than the earl himſelf. He was likewiſe admit-

† Spotſ. 283. * Cald. ii. 535.

ted to a ſeat in the privy-council, and acquired the ſame aſcendent in it ‡.

As the time appointed for the meeting of parliament at Edinburgh now approached, this gave him ſome anxiety. He was afraid of carrying the young king to a city whoſe inhabitants were ſo much at the devotion of the adverſe faction. He was no leſs unwilling to leave James behind at Stirling. In order to avoid this dilemma, he iſſued a proclamation in the king's name, changing the place of meeting from Edinburgh to Stirling caſtle. This Athol and his party repreſented as a ſtep altogether unconſtitutional. The king, ſaid they, is Morton's priſoner; the pretended counſellors are his ſlaves; a parliament, to which all the nobles may repair without fear, and where they may deliberate with freedom, is abſolutely neceſſary for ſettling the nation, after diſorders of ſuch long continuance. But in an aſſembly, called contrary to all form, held within the walls of a gariſon, and overawed by armed men, what ſafety could members expect; what liberty could prevail in debate; or what benefit reſult to the public? The parliament met, however, on the day appointed, and, notwithſtanding the proteſtation of the earl of Montroſe and lord Lindſay, in the name of their party, proceeded to buſineſs. The king's acceptance of the government was confirmed; the act granted to Morton, for his ſecurity, ratified, ſome regulations with regard to the numbers and authority of the privy-council, were agreed upon; and a penſion for life granted to the counteſs of Mar, who had been ſo inſtrumental in bringing about the late revolution †.

Mean while Argyll, Athol, and their followers took arms, upon the ſpecious pretence of reſcuing the king from captivity, and the kingdom from oppreſſion. James himſelf, impatient of the ſervitude in which he was held, by a man whom he had long been taught to hate, ſecretly encouraged their enterpriſe; though, at the ſame time, he was obliged not only to diſavow them in public, but to levy forces againſt them, and even to declare,

‡ Cald. ii. 536. † Cald. ii. 547. Parl. 5. Jac. 6.

by proclamation, that he was perfectly free from any conſtraint, either upon his perſon or his will. Both ſides quickly took the field. Argyll and Athol were at the head of ſeven thouſand men; the earl of Angus, Morton's nephew, met them with an army of five thouſand ſtrong; neither party, however, was eager to engage. Morton diſtruſted the fidelity of his own troops. The two earls were ſenſible that a ſingle victory, however complete, would not be deciſive; and as they were in no condition to undertake the ſiege of Stirling caſtle, where the king was kept, their ſtrength would ſoon be exhauſted, while Morton's own wealth, and the patronage of the queen of England, might furniſh him with endleſs reſources. By the mediation of Bowes, whom Elizabeth had ſent into Scotland to negotiate an accommodation between the two factions, a treaty was concluded, in conſequence of which, Argyll and Athol were admitted into the king's preſence; ſome of their party were added to the privy-council; and a convention of nobles called, in order to bring all remaining differences to an amicable iſſue ‡.

So ſoon as James aſſumed the government into his own hands, he deſpatched the abbot of Dumfermling to inform Elizabeth of that event; to offer to renew the alliance between the two kingdoms; and to demand poſſeſſion of the eſtate which had lately fallen to him by the death of his grandmother the counteſs of Lennox. That lady's ſecond ſon had left one daughter, Arabella Stewart, who was born in England. And as the chief objection againſt the pretenſions of the Scotiſh line to the crown of England, was that maxim of Engliſh law, which excludes aliens from any right of inheritance within the kingdon, Elizabeth, by granting this demand, would have eſtabliſhed a precedent in James's favour, that might have been eſteemed deciſive, with regard to a point, which it had been her conſtant care to keep undecided. Without ſuffering this delicate queſtion to be tried, or allowing any new light to be thrown on that, which ſhe conſidered as the great myſtery of her reign,

‡ Crawf. Mem. 307.

ſhe commanded the rents of the eſtate to be ſequeſtered by lord Burleigh, maſter of the wards; and by this method of proceeding, gave the Scottiſh king early warning how neceſſary it would be to court her favour, if ever he hoped for ſucceſs in claims of greater importance, but equally liable to be controverted ‖.

After many delays, and with much difficulty, the contending nobles were at laſt brought to ſome agreement. But it was followed by a tragical event. Morton, in token of reconcilement, having invited the leaders of the oppoſite party to a great entertainment, Athol the chancellor was ſoon after taken ill, and died within a few days. The ſymptoms and violence of the diſeaſe gave riſe to ſtrong ſuſpicions of his being poiſoned; and tho' the phyſicians, who opened his body, differed in opinion as to the cauſe of the diſtemper, the chancellor's relations publicly accuſed Morton of that odious crime. And the advantage which viſibly accrued to him, by the removal of a man of great abilities, and averſe from all his meaſures, was ſufficient proof of his guilt to the people, who are ever fond of imputing the death of eminent perſons to extraordinary cauſes †.

The office of chancellor was beſtowed upon Argyll, whom this preferment reconciled, in a great meaſure, to Morton's adminiſtration. He had now recovered all the authority he poſſeſſed during his regency, and had entirely broken, or baffled, the power and cabals of his enemies. None of the great families remained to be the objects of his jealouſy or to obſtruct his deſigns, but that of Hamilton. The earl of Arran, the eldeſt brother, had never recovered the ſhock which he received from the ill ſucceſs of his paſſion for the queen, and had now altogether loſt his reaſon. Lord John, the ſecond brother, was in poſſeſſion of the family eſtate. Lord Claud was commendator of Paiſley; both of them young men, ambitious and enterpriſing. Morton dreaded their influence in the kingdom; the courtiers hoped to ſhare their ſpoils among them; and as all princes naturally view their ſucceſſors with jealouſy and hatred, it was ta-

‖ Camd. 461. † Spotſw. 306.

ſy to infuſe theſe paſſions into the mind of the young king. A pretence was at hand to juſtify the moſt violent proceedings. The pardon, ſtipulated in the treaty of Perth, did not extend to thoſe, who were acceſſory to the murder of the regent Murray or Lennox. Lord John and his brother were ſuſpected of being the authors of both theſe crimes, and had been included in a general act of attainder on that account. Without ſummoning them to trial, or examining a ſingle witneſs to prove the charge, this attainder was now thought ſufficient to ſubject them to all the penalties which they would have incurred by being formally convicted. The earls of Morton, Mar, and Eglinton, together with the lords Ruthven, Boyd, and Cathcart, received a commiſſion to ſeize their perſons and eſtates. On a few hours warning, a conſiderable body of troops was ready, and marched towards Hamilton in hoſtile array. Happily the two brothers made their eſcape, though with great difficulty. But their lands were confiſcated; the caſtles of Hamilton and Draffan beſieged; thoſe who defended them puniſhed. The earl of Arran, though incapable, from his ſituation, of committing any crime, was involved, by a ſhameful abuſe of law, in the common ruin of his family; and as if he, too, could have been guilty of rebellion, confined a cloſe priſoner. Theſe proceedings, ſo contrary to the fundamental principles of juſtice, were all ratified in the ſubſequent parliament*.

About this time Mary ſent, by Naué her ſecretary, a letter to her ſon, together with ſome jewels of value, and a veſt embroidered with her own hands. But as ſhe gave him only the title of prince of Scotland, the meſſenger was diſmiſſed, without being admitted into his preſence†.

Though Elizabeth had, at this time, no particular reaſon to fear any attempt of the popiſh princes in Mary's favour, ſhe ſtill continued to guard her with the ſame anxious care. The acquiſition of Portugal, on the one hand, and the defence of the Netherlands, on the other, fully employed the councils and arms of Spain. France,

* Crawf. Mem. 311. Spotſw. 306. † Crawf. Mem. 314.

torn in pieces by inteſtine commotions, and under a weak and capricious prince, deſpiſed and diſtruſted by his own ſubjects, was in no condition to diſturb its neighbours. Elizabeth had long amuſed that court by carrying on a treaty of marriage with the duke of Alençon, the king's brother. But whether at the age of forty-five, ſhe really intended to marry a prince of twenty; whether the pleaſure of being flattered and courted, made her liſten to the addreſſes of ſo young a lover, whom ſhe allowed to viſit her at two different times, and treated with the moſt diſtinguiſhing reſpect; or whether conſiderations of intereſt predominated in this as well as in every other tranſaction of her reign, are problems in hiſtory which we are not concerned to reſolve. During the progreſs of this negotiation, which was drawn out to an extraordinary length, Mary could expect no aſſiſtance from the French court, and ſeems to have held little correſpondence with it; and there was no period in her reign, wherein Elizabeth enjoyed more perfect ſecurity.

Morton ſeems at this time to have been equally ſecure; but his ſecurity was not ſo well founded. He had weathered out one ſtorm, had cruſhed his adverſaries, and was again in poſſeſſion of the ſole direction of affairs. But as the king was now of an age when the character and diſpoſitions of the mind begin to unfold themſelves, and to become viſible, the ſmalleſt attention to theſe might have convinced him, that there was no reaſon to expect new and more dangerous attacks on his power. James early diſcovered that exceſſive attachment to favourites, which accompanied him through his whole life. This paſſion, which naturally ariſes from inexperience, and youthful warmth of heart, was, at his age, far from being culpable; nor could it well be expected that the choice of the objects, on whom he placed his affections, ſhould be made with great ſkill. The moſt conſiderable of them was Eſme Stewart, a native of France, and ſon of a ſecond brother of the earl of Lennox. He was diſtinguiſhed by the title of lord D'Aubigne, an eſtate in France, which deſcended to him from his anceſtors, on whom it had been conferred, in reward of their

valour and ſervices to the French crown. He arrived in Scotland about this time, on purpoſe to demand the eſtate and title of Lennox, to which he pretended a legal right. He was received at firſt by the king with the reſpect due to ſo near a relation. The gracefulneſs of his perſon, the elegance of his dreſs, and his courtly behaviour made a great impreſſion on James, who, even in his more mature years, was little able to reſiſt theſe frivolous charms; and his affection flowed with its uſual rapidity and profuſion. Within a few days after Stewart's appearance at court, he was created lord Aberbrothock, ſoon after earl, and then duke of Lennox, governor of Dumbarton caſtle, captain of the guard, firſt lord of the bed-chamber, and lord high chamberlain. At the ſame time, and without any of the envy or interference which is uſual among candidates for favour, captain James Stewart, the ſecond ſon of lord Ochiltree, grew into great confidence. But notwithſtanding this union, Lennox and captain Stewart were perſons of very oppoſite characters. The former was naturally gentle, humane, candid; but unacquainted with the ſtate of the country, and miſled or miſinformed by thoſe whom he truſted; not unworthy to be the companion of the young king in his amuſements, but utterly diſqualified for acting as a miniſter, in directing his affairs. The latter was remarkable for all the vices, which render a man formidable to his country, and a pernicious counſellor to his prince; nor did he poſſeſs any one virtue to counterbalance theſe vices, unleſs dexterity in conducting his own deſigns, and an enterpriſing courage, ſuperior to the ſenſe of danger, may paſs by that name. Unreſtrained by religion, regardleſs of decency, and undiſmayed by oppoſition, he aimed at objects ſeemingly unattainable; but under a prince void of experience, and blind to all the defects of thoſe who had gained his favour, his audacity was ſucceſsful; and honours, wealth, and power were the reward of his crimes.

Both the favourites concurred in employing their whole addreſs to undermine Morton's credit, which alone obſtructed their full poſſeſſion of power. And as James had been bred up with an averſion for that no-

bleman, who endeavoured rather to maintain the authority of a tutor, than to act with the obsequiousness of a minister, they found it no difficult matter to accomplish their design. Morton, who could no longer keep the king shut up within the walls of Stirling castle, having called a parliament to meet at Edinburgh, brought him thither. James made his entry into the capital with great solemnity; the citizens received him with the loudest acclamations of joy, and with many expensive pageants, according to the mode of that age. After a long period of thirty-seven years, during which Scotland had been subjected to the delegated power of regents, or to the feeble government of a woman; and had suffered all the miseries of civil war, and felt the insolence of foreign armies, the nation rejoiced to see the sceptre once more in the hands of a king; and fond even of that shadow of authority, which a prince of fifteen could possess, they flattered themselves that union, order and tranquillity would now be restored to the kingdom. James opened the parliament, 1579, with extraordinary pomp, but nothing remarkable passed in it.

These demonstrations, however, of the people's love and attachment to their sovereign, encouraged the favourites to continue their insinuations against Morton; and as the king now resided in the palace of Holyrood-house, to which all his subjects had access, the cabal against the earl grew daily stronger, and the intrigue which occasioned his fall, ripened gradually.

Morton began to be sensible of his danger, and endeavoured to put a stop to the career of Lennox's preferment, by representing him as a formidable enemy to the reformed religion, a secret agent in favour of popery, and a known emissary of the house of Guise. The clergy, apt to believe every rumour of this kind, spread the alarm among the people. But Lennox, either out of complaisance to his master, or convinced by the arguments of some learned divines whom the king appointed to instruct him in the principles of the protestant religion, publicly renounced the errors of popery, in the church of St. Giles, and declared himself a member of the church of Scotland, by signing her Confession of

Faith. This, though it did not remove all ſuſpicions, nor ſilence ſome zealous preachers, abated, in a great degree, the force of the accuſation*.

On the other hand, a rumour prevailed that Morton was preparing to ſeize the king's perſon and to carry him into England. Whether deſpair of maintaining his power by any other means, had driven him to make any overture of that kind to the Engliſh court, or whether it was a calumny invented by his adverſaries to render him odious, cannot now be determined with certainty. As he declared at his death that ſuch a deſign had never entered into his thoughts, the latter ſeems to be moſt probable. It afforded a pretence, however, for reviving the office of lord chamberlain, which had been for ſome time diſuſed. That honour was conferred on Lennox. Alexander Erſkine, Morton's capital enemy, was his deputy; they had under them a band of gentlemen, who were appointed conſtantly to attend the king, and to guard his perſon†.

Morton was not ignorant of what his enemies intended to inſinuate by ſuch unuſual precautions for the king's ſafety; and as his laſt reſource, applied to Elizabeth, whoſe protection had often ſtood him in ſtead in his greateſt difficulties. In conſequence of this application, Bowes, her envoy, accuſed Lennox of practices - - the peace of the two kingdoms, and inſiſted, in her name, that he ſhould inſtantly be removed from the privy-council. Such an unprecedented demand was conſidered by the counſellors as an affront to the king, and an encroachment on the independency of the kingdom. They affected to call in queſtion the envoy's powers, and upon that pretence refuſed him farther audience. He retired in diſguſt, and without taking leave; ſir Alexander Home was ſent to expoſtulate with Elizabeth on the ſubject. After the treatment which her envoy had received, Elizabeth thought it below her dignity to admit Home into her preſence. Burleigh, to whom he was commanded to impart his commiſſion, reproached

* Crawf. Mem. 319. Spotſ. 308. † Crawf. Mem. 320.

him with his master's ingratitude towards a benefactress who had placed the crown on his head, and required him to advise the king to beware of sacrificing the friendship of so necessary an ally to the giddy humours of a young man, without experience, and strongly suspected of principles and attachments incompatible with the happiness of the Scottish nation.

This accusation of Lennox, hastened, in all probability, Morton's fall. The act of indemnity, which he had obtained when he resigned the regency, was worded with such scrupulous exactness, as almost screened him from any legal prosecution. The murder of the late king was the only crime which could not, with decency, be inserted in a pardon granted by his son. Here Morton still lay open to the penalties of the law, and captain Stewart, who shunned no action, however desperate, if it led to power or to favour, entered the council-chamber while the king and nobles were assembled, and falling on his knees, accused Morton of being accessory, or, according to the language of the Scottish law, *art and part*, in the conspiracy against the life of his majesty's father, and offered, under the usual penalties, to verify this charge by legal evidence. Morton, who was present, heard this accusation with firmness; and replied with a disdainful smile, proceeding either from contempt of the infamous character of his accuser, or from consciousness of his own innocence, "that his known zeal in punishing those who were suspected of that detestable crime, might well exempt himself from any suspicion of being accessory to it; nevertheless, he would cheerfully submit to a trial, either in that place or in any other court; and doubted not but his own innocence, and the malice of his enemies, would then appear in the clearest light." Stewart, who was still on his knees, began to inquire how he would reconcile his bestowing so many honours on Archibald Douglas, whom he certainly knew to be one of the murderers, with his pretended zeal against that crime. Morton was ready to answer. But the king commanded both of them to be removed. The earl was confined, first of all to his own house, and then committed to the castle of Edinburgh,

of which Alexander Erſkine was governor; and as if it had not been a ſufficient indignity to ſubject him to the power of one of his enemies, he was ſoon after carried to Dumbarton, of which Lennox had the command. A warrant was likewiſe iſſued for apprehending Archibald Douglas; but he, having received timely intelligence of the approaching danger, fled into England*.

The earl of Angus, who imputed theſe violent proceedings, not to hatred againſt Morton alone, but to the ancient enmity between the houſes of Stewart and of Douglas, and who believed that a conſpiracy was now formed for the deſtruction of the whole name, was ready to take arms in order to reſcue his kinſman. But Morton abſolutely forbade any ſuch attempt, and declared that he would rather ſuffer ten thouſand deaths, than bring an imputation upon his own character by ſeeming to decline a trial†.

Elizabeth did not fail to interpoſe, with warmth, in behalf of a man who had contributed ſo much to preſerve her influence over Scotland. The late tranſactions in that kingdom had given her great uneaſineſs. The power which Lennox had acquired independent of her was dangerous; the treatment her ambaſſadors had met with differed greatly from the reſpect with which the Scots were in uſe to receive her miniſters; and the attack now made on Morton fully convinced her that there was an intention to ſow the ſeeds of diſcord between the two nations, and to ſeduce James into a new alliance with France, or into a marriage with ſome popiſh princeſs. Full of theſe apprehenſions, ſhe ordered a conſiderable body of troops to be aſſembled on the borders of Scotland, and deſpatched Randolph as her ambaſſador into that kingdom. He addreſſed himſelf not only to James, and to his council, but to a convention of eſtates, met at that time. He began with enumerating the extraordinary benefits which Elizabeth had conferred on the Scottiſh nation: that without demanding a ſingle foot of land for herſelf, without en-

* Crawf. Mem. 323. † Johnſt. 64. Spotſw. 311.

croaching on the liberties of the kingdom in the ſmalleſt article, ſhe had, at the expence of the blood of her ſubjects and the treaſures of her crown, reſcued the Scots from the dominion of France, eſtabliſhed among them true religion, and put them in poſſeſſion of their ancient rights: that from the beginning ſhe had protected thoſe who eſpouſed the king's cauſe, and by her aſſiſtance alone, the crown was preſerved on his head, and all the attempts of the adverſe faction baffled: that an union, unknown to their anceſtors, but equally beneficial to both kingdoms, had ſubſiſted for a long period of years; and though ſo many popiſh princes had combined to diſturb this happy ſtate of things, her care and their conſtancy, had hitherto defeated all theſe efforts: that ſhe had obſerved of late an unuſual coldneſs, diſtruſt, and eſtrangement in the Scottiſh council, which ſhe could impute to none but to Lennox, a ſubject of France, a retainer to the houſe of Guiſe, bred up in the errors of popery, and ſtill ſuſpected of favouring that ſuperſtition. Not ſatisfied with having mounted ſo faſt to ſuch an uncommon height of power, which he exerciſed with all the raſhneſs of youth, and all the ignorance of a ſtranger; nor thinking it enough to have deprived the earl of Morton of the authority due to his abilities and experience, he had conſpired the ruin of that nobleman, who had often expoſed his life in the king's cauſe, who had contributed more than any other ſubject to place him on the throne, to reſiſt the encroachments of popery, and to preſerve the union between the two kingdoms. If any zeal for religion remained among the nobles in Scotland, if they wiſhed for the continuance of amity with England, if they valued the privileges of their own order, he called upon them, in the name of his miſtreſs, to remove ſuch a pernicious counſellor as Lennox from the preſence of the young king, to reſcue Morton out of the hands of his avowed enemy, and to ſecure to him the benefit of a fair and impartial trial; and if force were neceſſary towards accompliſhing a deſign ſo ſalutary to the king and kingdom, he promiſed them the protection of his miſtreſs in the enterpriſe,

and whatever aſſiſtance they ſhould demand, either of men or money †.

But theſe extraordinary remonſtrances, accompanied with ſuch an unuſual appeal from the king to his ſubjects, were not the only means employed by Elizabeth in favour of Morton, and againſt Lennox. She perſuaded the prince of Orange to ſend an agent into Scotland, and under colour of complimenting James on account of the valour which many of his ſubjects had diſplayed in the ſervice of the States, to enter into a long detail of the reſtleſs enterpriſes of the popiſh princes againſt the proteſtant religion; to beſeech him to adhere inviolably to the alliance with England, the only barrier which ſecured his kingdom againſt their dangerous cabals; and, above all things, to diſtruſt the inſinuations of thoſe who endeavoured to weaken or to diſſolve that union between the Britiſh nations, which all the proteſtants in Europe beheld with ſo much pleaſure *.

James's counſellors were too intent upon the deſtruction of their enemy to liſten to theſe remonſtrances. The officious interpoſition of the prince of Orange, the haughty tone of Elizabeth's meſſage, and ſo avowed an attempt to excite ſubjects to rebel againſt their ſovereign, were conſidered as unexampled inſults on the majeſty and independence of a crowned head. A general and evaſive anſwer was given to Randolph. James prepared to aſſert his own dignity with ſpirit. All thoſe ſuſpected of favouring Morton were turned out of office, ſome of them were required to ſurrender themſelves priſoners; the fencible men throughout the kingdom were commanded to take arms; and troops were levied and poſted on the borders. The Engliſh ambaſſador, finding that neither the public manifeſto which he had delivered to the convention, nor his private cabals with the nobles, could excite them to arms, fled in the night-time out of Scotland, where libels againſt him had been daily publiſhed, and even at-

† Cald. iii. 6. Strype, ii. 621.

* Cald. iii. 9. See Append. No. VIII.

tempts made upon his life. In both kingdoms every thing wore an hoſtile aſpect. But Elizabeth, though ſhe wiſhed to have intimidated the Scottiſh king by her preparations, had no inclination to enter into a war with him, and the troops on the borders, which had given ſuch umbrage; were ſoon diſperſed†.

The greater ſolicitude Elizabeth diſcovered for Morton's ſafety, the more eagerly did his enemies drive on their ſchemes for his deſtruction. Captain Stewart, his accuſer, was firſt appointed tutor to the earl of Arran, and ſoon after both the title and eſtate of his unhappy ward, to which he advanced ſome frivolous claim, were conferred upon him. The new made peer was commanded to conduct Morton from Dumbarton to Edinburgh; and by that choice the earl was not only warned what fate he might expect, but had the cruel mortification of ſeeing his mortal enemy already loaded with honours, in reward of the malice which he had contributed to his ruin.

The records of the court of *Juſticiary* at this period are loſt. The account which our hiſtorians give of Morton's trial is inaccurate and unſatisfactory. The whole proceedings ſeem to have been violent, irregular, and oppreſſive. Arran, in order to extort evidence, tortured ſeveral of the earl's domeſtics with unuſual cruelty. During the trial, great bodies of armed men were drawn up in different parts of the city. The jury was compoſed of the earl's known enemies; and though he challenged ſeveral of them, his objections were over-ruled. After a ſhort conſultation, his peers found him guilty of concealing, and of being *art and part* in the conſpiracy againſt the life of the late king. The firſt part of the verdict did not ſurpriſe him, but he twice repeated the words *art and part* with ſome vehemence, and added, "God knows it is not ſo." The doom which the law decrees againſt a traitor was pronounced. The king, however, remitted the cruel and ignominious part of the ſentence, and appointed

† Crawf. Mem. 328. Strype, ii. App. 138.

that he ſhould ſuffer death next day, by being beheaded ‖.

During that awful interval, Morton poſſeſſed the utmoſt compoſure of mind. He ſupped cheerfully; ſlept a part of the night in his uſual manner, and employed the reſt of his time in religious conferences, and in acts of devotion with ſome miniſters of the city. The clergyman who attended him, dealt freely with his conſcience, and preſſed his crimes home upon him. What he confeſſed with regard to the crime for which he ſuffered, is remarkable, and ſupplies, in ſome meaſure, the imperfection of our records. He acknowledged, that on his return from England after the death of Rizio, Bothwell had informed him of the conſpiracy againſt the king, which the queen, as he told him, knew of and approved; that he ſolicited him to concur in the execution of it, which at that time he abſolutely declined; that ſoon after, Bothwell himſelf, and Archibald Douglas, in his name, renewing their ſolicitations to the ſame purpoſe, he had required a warrant under the queen's hand, authorizing the attempt, and as that had never been produced, he had refuſed to be any farther concerned in the matter. "But," continued he, "as I neither conſented to this treaſonable act, nor "aſſiſted in the committing of it, ſo it was impoſ- "ſible for me to reveal, or to prevent it. To whom "could I make the diſcovery? The queen was the au- "thor of the enterpriſe. Darnly was ſuch a change- "ling that no ſecret could be ſafely communicated to "him. Huntly and Bothwell, who bore the chief "ſway in the kingdom, were themſelves the perpetra- "tors of the crime." Theſe circumſtances, it muſt be confeſſed, go ſome length towards extenuating Morton's guilt; and though his apology for the favour he had ſhewn to Archibald Douglas, whom he knew to be one of the conſpirators, be far leſs ſatisfactory, no uneaſy reflections ſeem to have diſquieted his own mind on that account *. When his keepers told him that

‖ Spotſw. 314. Johnſt. 65. Crawf. Mem. 332. Cald. iii. 45. * Crawf. Mem. Append. iii.

the guards were attending, and all things in readineſs, "I praiſe my God," ſaid he, "I am ready likewiſe." Arran commanded theſe guards; and even in thoſe moments, when the moſt implacable hatred is apt to relent, the malice of his enemies could not forbear this inſult. On the ſcaffold, his behaviour was calm; his countenance and voice unaltered; and after ſome time ſpent in devotion, he ſuffered death with the intrepidity which became the name of Douglas. His head was placed on the public gaol of Edinburgh; and his body, after lying till ſun-ſet on the ſcaffold, covered with a beggarly cloak, was carried by common porters to the uſual burial-place of criminals. None of his friends durſt accompany it to the grave, or diſcover their gratitude and reſpect by any ſymptoms of ſorrow†.

Arran, no leſs profligate in private life, than audacious in his public conduct, ſoon after drew the attention of his countrymen, by his infamous marriage with the counteſs of March. Before he grew into favour at court, he had been often entertained in her huſband's houſe, and without regarding the laws of hoſpitality or of gratitude, carried on a criminal intrigue with the wife of his benefactor, a woman young and beautiful, but according to the deſcription of a contemporary hiſtorian, "intolerable in all the imperfections incident to "her ſex." Impatient of any reſtraint upon their mutual deſires, they, with equal ardour, wiſhed to avow their union publicly, and to legitimate, by a marriage, the offſpring of their unlawful paſſion. The counteſs petitioned to be divorced from her huſband, for a reaſon which no modeſt woman will ever plead. The judges, over-awed by Arran, paſſed ſentence without delay. And this infamous ſcene, was concluded by a marriage, ſolemniſed with great pomp, and beheld by all ranks of men with the utmoſt horror‡.

A parliament was held this year, at the opening of which ſome diſputes aroſe between Arran and earl now created duke of Lennox. Arran, haughty by nature, and puſhed on by his wife's ambition, began to affect

† Crawf. Mem. 334. Spotſw. 314. ‡ Spotſw. 315.

an equality with the duke, under whoſe protection he had hitherto been contented to place himſelf. After various attempts to form a party in the council againſt Lennox, he found him fixed ſo firmly in the king's affections, that it was impoſſible to ſhake him; and rather than loſe all intereſt at court, from which he was baniſhed, he made the moſt humble ſubmiſſions to the favourite, and again recovered his former credit. This rupture contributed, however, to render the duke ſtill more odious to the nation. During the continuance of it, Arran affected to court the clergy, pretended an extraordinary zeal for the proteſtant religion, and laboured to confirm the ſuſpicions which were entertained of his rival, as an emiſſary of the houſe of Guiſe, and a favourer of popery. As he was ſuppoſed to be acquainted with the duke's moſt ſecret deſigns, his calumnies were liſtened to with more credit than was due to his character. To the ſame cauſe we muſt aſcribe ſeveral acts of parliament uncommonly favourable to the church, particularly one which aboliſhed the practice introduced by Morton, of appointing but one miniſter to ſeveral pariſhes.

No notice hath been taken for ſome years of eccleſiaſtical affairs. While the civil government underwent ſo many extraordinary revolutions, the church was not free from convulſions. Two objects chiefly engroſſed the attention of the clergy. The one was, the forming a ſyſtem of diſcipline, or eccleſiaſtical polity. After long labour, and many difficulties, this was at laſt brought to ſome degree of perfection. The aſſembly ſolemnly approved of it and appointed it to be laid before the privy-council, in order to obtain the ratification of it in parliament. But, Morton, during his adminiſtration, and thoſe who, after his fall, governed the king, were equally unwilling to ſee it carried into execution; and by ſtarting difficulties, and throwing in objections, prevented it from receiving a legal ſanction. The other point in view was, the abolition of the epiſcopal order. The biſhops were ſo devoted to the king, to whom they owed their promotion, that the function itſelf was by ſome reckoned dangerous to civil liberty.

Being allowed a ſeat in parliament, and diſtinguiſhed by titles of honour, theſe not only occaſioned many avocations from their ſpiritual employments, but ſoon rendered their character and manners extremely different from thoſe of the clergy in that age. The nobles viewed their power with jealouſy; the populace conſidered their lives as profane; and wiſhed their downfal with equal ardour. The perſonal emulation between Melvil and Adamſon, a man of learning, and eminent for his popular eloquence, who was promoted, on the death of Douglas, to be archbiſhop of St. Andrews, mingled itſelf with the paſſions on each ſide, and heightened them. Attacks were made in every aſſembly on the order of biſhops; their privileges were gradually circumſcribed; and at laſt an act was paſſed, declaring the office of biſhop, as it was then exerciſed within the realm, to have neither foundation nor warrant in the word of God; and requiring, under pain of excommunication, all who now poſſeſſed that office, inſtantly to reſign it, and to abſtain from preaching or adminiſtering the ſacraments, until they ſhould receive permiſſion from the aſſembly. The court did not acquieſce in this decree.

A vacancy happening ſoon after in the ſee of Glaſgow, Montgomery miniſter at Stirling, a man vain, fickle, preſumptuous, and more apt, by the blemiſhes in his character, to have alienated the people from an order already beloved, than to reconcile them to one which was the object of their hatred, ſtruck up an infamous bargain with Lennox, and on his recommendation was choſen archbiſhop. The preſbytery of Stirling, of which he was a member, the preſbytery of Glaſgow, whither he was to be tranſlated, the general aſſembly, vied with each other in proſecuting him on that account. In order to ſcreen Montgomery, James made trial both of gentle and of rigorous meaſures, and both were equally ineffectual. The general aſſembly was juſt ready to pronounce againſt him the ſentence of excommunication, when a herald entered, and commanded them in the king's name, and under pain of rebellion, to ſtop further proceedings. Even this in-

junction they despised; and though Montgomery, by his tears and seeming penitence, procured a short respite, the sentence was at last issued by their appointment, and published in all the churches throughout the kingdom.

The firmness of the clergy in a collective body was not greater than the boldness of some individuals, particularly of the ministers of Edinburgh. They inveighed daily against the corruptions in the administration; and, with the freedom of speech admitted into the pulpit in that age, named Lennox and Arran as the chief authors of the grievances under which the church and kingdom groaned. The courtiers, in their turn, complained to the king of the insolent and seditious spirit of the clergy. In order to check the boldness of their discourses, James issued a proclamation, commanding Dury, one of the most popular ministers, not only to leave the town, but to abstain from preaching in any other place. Dury complained to the judicatories of the church, of this encroachment upon the immunities of his office. They approved of the doctrine which he delivered; and he determined to disregard the royal proclamation. But the magistrates being determined to compel him to leave the city, according to the king's orders, he was obliged to abandon his charge, after protesting publicly, at the cross of Edinburgh, against the violence which was put upon him. The people accompanied him to the gates with tears and lamentations; and the clergy denounced the vengeance of heaven against the authors of this outrage *.

In this perilous situation stood the church, the authority of its judicatories called in question, and the liberty of the pulpit restrained, when a sudden revolution in the civil government procured them unexpected relief.

The two favourites, by their ascendent over the king, possessed uncontrolled power in the kingdom, and exercised it with the utmost wantonness. James usually resided at Dalkeith, or Kinneil, the seats of Lennox and of Arran, and was attended by such company, and em-

* Cald. Assemb. 1576—1582. Spotsw. 277, &c.

ployed in such amusements, as did not suit his dignity. The services of those who had contributed most to place the crown on his head were but little remembered. Many who had opposed him with the greatest virulence, enjoyed the rewards and honours to which the others were entitled. Exalted notions of regal prerogative, utterly inconsistent with the constitution of Scotland, being instilled by them into the mind of the young monarch, unfortunately made, at that early age, a deep impression there, and became the source of almost all his future errors in the government of both kingdoms*. Courts of justice were held in almost every county, the proprietors of land were called before them, and upon the slightest neglect of any of the numerous forms which are peculiar to feudal holdings, they were fined with unusual and intolerable rigour. The lord chamberlain revived the obsolete jurisdiction of his office over the boroughs, and they were subjected to exactions no less grievous. A design seemed likewise to have been formed to exasperate Elizabeth, and to dissolve the alliance with her, which all good protestants esteemed the chief security of their religion in Scotland. A close correspondence was set on foot between the king and his mother, and considerable progress made towards uniting their titles to the crown, by such a treaty of association as Maitland had projected; which could not fail of endangering or diminishing his authority, and must have proved fatal to those who had acted against her with greatest vigour†.

All these circumstances irritated the impatient spirit of the Scottish nobles, who resolved to tolerate no longer the insolence of the two minions, or to stand by, while their presumption and inexperience ruined both the king and kingdom. Elizabeth, who, during the administration of the four regents, had the entire direction of the affairs of Scotland, felt herself deprived of all influence in that kingdom ever since the death of Morton, and was ready to countenance any attempt to rescue the king out of the hands of favourites who were lead-

* Cald. iii. 152. † Cald. iii. 157.

ing him into measures so repugnant to all her views. The earls of Mar and Glencairn, lord Ruthven, lately created earl of Gowrie, lord Lindsay, lord Boyd, the tutor of Glamis, the master of Oliphant, with several barons and gentlemen of distinction, entered into a combination for that purpose; and as changes in administration, which, among polished nations, are brought about slowly and silently, by artifice and intrigue, were in that rude age effected suddenly and by violence, the king's situation, and the security of the favourites, encouraged the conspirators to have immediate recourse to force.

James, after having resided for some time in Athol, where he enjoyed his favourite amusement of hunting, was now returning towards Edinburgh with a small train. He was invited to Ruthven castle, which lay in his way; and as he suspected no danger, he went thither in hopes of farther sport. The multitude of strangers whom he found there gave him some uneasiness; and as those who were in the secret arrived every moment from different parts, the appearance of so many new faces increased his fears. He dissembled, however, and next morning made ready for the field, expecting to find there some opportunity of making his escape. But the nobles entering his bed chamber presented a memorial against the illegal and oppressive actions of his two favourites, whom they represented as most dangerous enemies to the religion and liberties of the nation. James, though he received this remonstrance with the complaisance which was necessary in his present situation, was extremely impatient to be gone; but as he approached the door of the apartment, the tutor of Glamis rudely stopped him. The king complained, expostulated, threatened, and finding all these without effect, burst into tears: "No matter," said Glamis fiercely, "better children weep than bearded men." These words made a deep impression on the king's mind, and were never forgotten. The conspirators, without regarding his tears or indignation, dismissed such of his followers as they suspected; allowed none but their own party to have access to him; and, though they treated

him with great reſpect, guarded his perſon with the utmoſt care. This enterpriſe is uſually called by our hiſtorians, *The raid of Ruthven**.

Lennox and Arran were aſtoniſhed to the laſt degree at an event ſo unexpected, and ſo fatal to their power. The former endeavoured, but without ſucceſs, to excite the inhabitants of Edinburgh to take arms in order to reſcue their ſovereign from captivity. The latter, with his uſual impetuoſity, mounted on horſeback the moment he heard what had befallen the king, and with a few followers rode towards Ruthven caſtle, and as a conſiderable body of the conſpirators, under the command of the earl of Mar, lay in his way ready to oppoſe him, he ſeparated himſelf from his companions, and with two attendants arrived at the gate of the caſtle. At the ſight of a man ſo odious to his country, the indignation of the conſpirators roſe, and inſtant death muſt have been the puniſhment of his raſhneſs, if the friendſhip of Gowrie, or ſome other cauſe not explained by our hiſtorians, had not ſaved a life ſo pernicious to the kingdom. He was confined, however, to the caſtle of Stirling, without being admitted into the king's preſence.

The king, though really the priſoner of his own ſubjects, with whoſe conduct he could not help diſcovering many ſymptoms of diſguſt, was obliged to publiſh a proclamation, ſignifying his approbation of their enterpriſe, declaring that he himſelf was at full liberty, without any reſtraint or violence offered to his perſon; and forbidding any attempt againſt thoſe concerned in the *Raid of Ruthven*, under pretence of reſcuing him out of their hands. At the ſame time, he commanded Lennox to leave Scotland before the twentieth of September†.

Soon after, ſir George Carey and Bowes arrived as ambaſſadors from Elizabeth. The pretext of their embaſſy was to inquire after the king's ſafety; to encourage and to countenance the conſpirators was the real motive of it. By their interceſſion, the earl of Angus, who, ever ſince the death of his uncle Morton, had liv-

* Cald. iii. 134. Spotſw. 320. Melv. 357.
† Cald. iii. 135, 138.

ed in exile, obtained leave to return. And the acceſſion of a nobleman ſo powerful and ſo popular ſtrengthened the faction †.

Lennox, whoſe amiable and gentle qualities had procured him many friends, and who received private aſſurances that the king's favour towards him was in no degree abated, ſeemed reſolved, at firſt, to pay no regard to a command extorted by violence, and no leſs diſagreeable to James, than it was rigorous with regard to himſelf. But the power of his enemies, who were maſters of the king's perſon, who were ſecretly ſupported by Elizabeth, and openly applauded by the clergy, deterred him from any enterpriſe, the ſucceſs of which was dubious, and the danger certain, both to himſelf and to his ſovereign. He put off the time of his departure, however, by various artifices, in expectation either that James might make his eſcape from the conſpirators, or that fortune might preſent ſome more favourable opportunity of taking arms for his relief.

On the other hand, the conſpirators were extremely ſolicitous not only to ſecure the approbation of their countrymen, but to obtain ſome legal ſanction of their enterpriſe. For this purpoſe they publiſhed a long declaration, containing the motives which had induced them to venture on ſuch an irregular ſtep, and endeavoured to heighten the public indignation againſt the favourites, by repreſenting, in the ſtrongeſt colours, their inexperience and inſolence, their contempt of the nobles, their violation of the privileges of the church, and their oppreſſion of the people. They obliged the king, who could not with ſafety refuſe any of their demands, to grant them a remiſſion in the moſt ample form; and not ſatisfied with that, they applied to the aſſembly of the church, and eaſily procured an act, declaring, "that they had done good and acceptable ſervice to "God, to their ſovereign, and to their native coun-"try, and requiring all ſincere proteſtants to concur "with them in carrying forward ſuch a laudable enter-

† Cald. iii. 152.

priſe. And in order to add the greater weight to this act, every miniſter was enjoined to read it in his own pulpit, and to inflict the cenſures of the church on thoſe who ſet themſelves in oppoſition to ſo good a cauſe. A convention of eſtates aſſembled a few days after, paſſed an act to the ſame effect, and granted full indemnity to the conſpirators for every thing they had done *.

James was conducted by them, firſt to Stirling, and afterwards to the palace of Holyrood-houſe; and though he was received every where with the external marks of reſpect due to his dignity, his motions were carefully obſerved, and he was under a reſtraint no leſs ſtrict than at the firſt moment when he was ſeized by the conſpirators. Lennox, after eluding many commands to depart out of the kingdom, was at laſt obliged to begin his journey. He lingered, however, for ſome time in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, as if he had ſtill intended to make one effort towards reſtoring the king to liberty. But either from the gentleneſs of his own diſpoſition, averſe to bloodſhed and the diſorders of civil war, or from ſome other cauſe unknown to us, he abandoned the deſign and ſet out for France, by the way of England. The king iſſued the order for his departure, with no leſs reluctance than the duke obeyed it; and both mourned a ſeparation, which neither of them had power to prevent. Soon after his arrival in France, the fatigue of the journey, or the anguiſh of his mind, threw him into a fever. In his laſt moments he diſcovered ſuch a firm adherence to the proteſtant faith, as fully vindicates his memory from an imputation of an attachment to popery, with which he had been uncharitably loaded in Scotland †. As he was the earlieſt, and beſt beloved, he was, perhaps, the moſt deſerving, though not the moſt able, of all James's favourites. The warmth and tenderneſs of his maſter's affection for him was not abated by death itſelf. By many acts of kindneſs and generoſity towards his

* Cald. iii. 177, 187, 200. Spotſw. 322. † Spotſw. 324. Cald. iii. 172.

poſterity, the king not only did great honour to the memory of Lennox, but ſet his own character in one of the moſt favourable points of view.

The ſucceſs of the conſpiracy which deprived James of liberty made great noiſe over all Europe, and at laſt reached the ears of Mary in the priſon to which ſhe was confined. As her own experience had taught her what injuries a captive prince is expoſed to ſuffer; and as many of thoſe who were now concerned in the enterpriſe againſt her ſon, were the ſame perſons whom ſhe conſidered as the chief authors of her own misfortunes, it was natural for the tenderneſs of a mother to apprehend that the ſame calamities were ready to fall on his head; and ſuch a proſpect did not fail of adding to the diſtreſs and horror of her own ſituation. In the anguiſh of her heart ſhe wrote to Elizabeth, complaining in the bitterеſt terms of the unprecedented rigour with which ſhe herſelf had been treated, and beſeeching her not to abandon her ſon to the mercy of his rebellious ſubjects; nor permit him to be involved in the ſame misfortunes under which ſhe had ſo long groaned. The peculiar vigour and acrimony of ſtyle, for which this letter is remarkable, diſcover both the high ſpirit of the Scottiſh queen, unſubdued by her ſufferings, and the violence of her indignation at Elizabeth's artifices and ſeverity. But it was ill adapted to gain the end ſhe had in view, and accordingly it neither procured any mitigation of the rigour of her own confinement, nor any interpoſition in favour of the king §.

Henry III. who, though he feared and hated the princes of Guiſe, was often obliged to court their favour, interpoſed with warmth, in order to extricate James out of the hands of a party ſo entirely devoted to the Engliſh intereſt. He commanded M. de la Motte Fenelon, his ambaſſador at the court of England to repair to Edinburgh, and to contribute his utmoſt endeavours towards placing James in a ſituation more ſuitable to his dignity. As Elizabeth could not, with decency, refuſe him liber-

§ Camd. 489. See Appendix, No. IX.

ty to execute this commiſſion, ſhe appointed Daviſon to attend him into Scotland, as her envoy, under colour of concurring with him in the negotiation, but in reality to be a ſpy upon his motions, and to obſtruct his ſucceſs. James, whoſe title to the crown had not hitherto been recogniſed by any of the princes on the continent, was extremely fond of ſuch an honourable embaſſy from the French monarch; and on that account, as well as for the ſake of the errand on which he came, received Fenelon with great reſpect. The nobles, under whoſe power the king was, did not reliſh this interpoſition of the French court, which had long loſt its ancient influence over the affairs of Scotland. The clergy were alarmed at the danger to which religion would be expoſed, if the princes of Guiſe, ſhould recover any aſcendent over the public councils. And though the king tried every method for reſtraining them within the bounds of decency, they declaimed againſt the court of France, againſt the princes of Guiſe, againſt the ambaſſador, againſt entering into any alliance with ſuch notorious perſecutors of the church of God, with a vehemence which no regular government would now tolerate, but which was then extremely common. The ambaſſador watched by Daviſon, diſtruſted by the nobles, and expoſed to the inſults of the clergy and of the people, returned into England without procuring any change in the king's ſituation, or receiving any anſwer to a propoſal which he made, that the government ſhould be carried on in the joint names of James and the queen his mother §.

Meanwhile James, though he diſſembled with great art, became every day more uneaſy under his confinement; his uneaſineſs rendered him continually attentive to find out a proper opportunity for making his eſcape; and to this attention he at laſt owed his liberty, which the king of France was not able, nor the queen of England willing, to procure for him. As the conſpirators had forced Lennox out of the kingdom, and kept Arran at a diſtance from court, they grew ſecure; and

§ Cald. iii. 207. Spotſ. 324. Murdin, 372, &c. See Appendix, No. IX.

imagining that time had reconciled the king to them, and to his ſituation, they watched him with little care. Some occaſions of diſcord had ariſen among themſelves; and the French ambaſſador, by fomenting theſe during the time of his reſidence in Scotland, had weakened the union, in which alone their ſafety conſiſted*. Colonel William Stewart, the commander of the band of gentlemen who guarded the king's perſon, being gained by James, had the principal merit in the ſcheme for reſtoring his maſter to liberty. Under pretence of paying a viſit to the earl of March, his grand uncle, James was permitted to go from Falkland to St. Andrews. That he might not create any ſuſpicion, he lodged at firſt in an open defenceleſs houſe in the town, but pretending a curioſity to ſee the caſtle, no ſooner was he entered with ſome of his attendants whom he could truſt, than colonel Stewart commanded the gates to be ſhut, and excluded all the reſt of his train. Next morning the earls of Argyll, Huntly, Crawford, Montroſe, Rothes, with others to whom the ſecret had been communicated, entered the town with their followers, and though Mar, with ſeveral of the leaders of the faction, appeared in arms, they found themſelves ſo far outnumbered, that it was in vain to think of recovering poſſeſſion of the king's perſon, which had been in their power ſomewhat longer than ten months. James was naturally of ſo ſoft and ductile a temper, that thoſe who were near his perſon commonly made a deep impreſſion on his heart, which was formed to be under the ſway of favourites. And as he remained during ſo long a time, and at a period of life when reſentments are rather violent than laſting, implacable and unreconciled to the conſpirators, they muſt either have improved the opportunities of inſinuating themſelves into favour with little dexterity, or the indignation with which this firſt inſult to his perſon and authority filled him, muſt have been very great.

His joy at his eſcape was youthful and exceſſive. He reſolved, however, by the advice of ſir James Melvil, and his wiſeſt counſellors, to act with the utmoſt

* Camd. 482.

moderation. Having called into his presence the leaders of both factions, the neighbouring gentry, the deputies of the adjacent boroughs, and the ministers, and the heads of colleges, he declared, that although he had been held under restraint for some time by violence, he would not impute that as a crime to any man, but, without remembering the irregularities which had been so frequent during his minority, would pass a general act of oblivion, and govern all his subjects with undistinguishing and equal affection. And as an evidence of his sincerity, he visited the earl of Gowrie at Ruthven castle, and granted him a full pardon of any guilt he had contracted, by the crime committed in that very place †.

But James did not adhere long to this prudent and moderate plan. His former favourite, the earl of Arran, had been permitted for some time to reside at Kinneil, one of his country seats. As soon as the king felt himself at liberty, his love for him began to revive, and he expressed a strong desire to see him. The courtiers violently opposed the return of a minion, whose insolent and overbearing temper they dreaded, as much as the nation detested his crimes. James, however, continued his importunity, and promising that he should continue with him no longer than one day, they were obliged to yield. This interview rekindled ancient affection; the king forgot his promise; Arran regained his ascendant over him, and within a few days resumed the exercise of power, and all the arrogance of an undeserving favourite, and all the rashness peculiar to himself §.

The first effect of his influence was a proclamation with regard to those concerned in the *Raid of Ruthven*. They were required to acknowledge their crime in the humblest manner; and the king promised to grant them a full pardon, provided their future conduct were such as did not oblige him to remember past miscarriages. The tenour of this proclamation was extremely different from the act of oblivion which the confi-

† Melv. 272. § Ibid. 274.

rators had been encouraged to expect. Nor did any of them reckon it ſafe to rely on a promiſe clogged with ſuch an equivocal condition, and granted by a young prince under the influence of a miniſter, void of faith, regardleſs of decency, and tranſported by the deſire of revenge even beyond the uſual ferocity of his temper. Many of the leaders, who had at firſt appeared openly at court, retired to their own houſes; and, foreſeeing the dangerous ſtorm which was gathering, began to look out for a retreat in foreign countries †.

Elizabeth, who had all along protected the conſpirators, was extremely diſguſted with meaſures which tended ſo viſibly to their deſtruction, and wrote to the king a harſh and haughty letter, reproaching him in a ſtyle very uncommon among princes, with breach of faith in recalling Arran to court, and with imprudence in proceeding ſo rigorouſly againſt his beſt and moſt faithful ſubjects. James, with a becoming dignity, replied, that promiſes extorted by violence, and conditions yielded out of fear, were no longer binding, when theſe were removed; that it belonged to him alone to chuſe what miniſters he would employ in his ſervice; and that though he reſolved to treat the conſpirators at Ruthven with the utmoſt clemency, it was neceſſary, for the ſupport of his authority, that ſuch an inſult on his perſon ſhould not paſs altogether uncenſured ‖.

Elizabeth's letter was quickly followed by Walſingham her ſecretary, whom ſhe appointed her ambaſſador to James, and who appeared at the Scottiſh court with a ſplendour and magnificence well calculated to pleaſe and dazzle a young prince. Walſingham was admitted to ſeveral conferences with James himſelf, in which he inſiſted on the ſame topics contained in the letter, and the king repeated his former anſwers.

After ſuffering ſeveral indignities from the arrogance of Arran and his creatures, he returned to England,

† Melv. 278. Spotſw. 326. Cald. iii. 330. ‖ Melv. 278.

without concluding any new treaty with the king. Walſingham was, next to Burleigh, the miniſter on whom the chief weight of the Engliſh adminiſtration reſted; and when a perſon of his rank ſtept ſo far out of the ordinary road of buſineſs, as to undertake a long journey in his old age, and under a declining ſtate of health, ſome affair of conſequence was ſuppoſed to be the cauſe, or ſome important event was expected to be the effect of this meaſure. But as nothing conſpicuous either occaſioned or followed this embaſſy, it is probable that Elizabeth had no other intention in employing this ſagacious miniſter, than to diſcover, with exactneſs, the capacity and diſpoſition of the Scottiſh king, who was now arrived at a time of life when, with ſome degree of certainty, conjectures might be formed concerning his character and future conduct. As James poſſeſſed talents of that kind, which make a greater figure in converſation than in action, he gained a great deal by this interview with the Engliſh ſecretary, who, notwithſtanding the cold reception he met with, gave ſuch an advantageous repreſentation of his abilities, as determined Elizabeth to treat him, henceforward, with greater decency and reſpect *.

Elizabeth's eagerneſs to protect the conſpirators rendered James more violent in his proceedings againſt them. As they had all refuſed to accept of pardon upon the terms which he had offered, they were required, by a new proclamation to ſurrender themſelves priſoners. The earl of Angus alone complied; the reſt either fled into England, or obtained the king's licence to retire into foreign parts. A convention of eſtates was held, the members of which, deceived by an unworthy artifice of Arran's, declared thoſe concerned in the *Raid of Ruthven* to have been guilty of high treaſon; appointed the act paſſed laſt year approving of their conduct to be expunged out of the records; and engaged to ſupport the king in proſecuting the fugitives with the utmoſt rigour of law.

The conſpirators, though far from having done any

* Melv. 293. Cald. iii. 258. Jebb. ii. 536.

thing that was uncommon in a barbarous age, among mutinous nobles, and under an unſettled ſtate of government, muſt be acknowledged to have been guilty of an act of treaſon againſt their ſovereign; and James, who conſidered their conduct in this light, had good reaſon to boaſt of his clemency, when he offered to pardon them upon confeſſing their crime. But, on the other hand, it muſt be allowed that, after the king's voluntary promiſe of a general oblivion, they had ſome reaſon to complain of breach of faith, and could not, without the moſt unpardonable imprudence, have put their lives in Arran's power.

The intereſt of the church was conſiderably affected by theſe contrary revolutions. While the conſpirators kept poſſeſſion of power, the clergy not only recovered, but extended, their privileges. As they had formerly declared the hierarchy to be unlawful, they took ſome bold meaſures towards exterminating the epiſcopal order out of the church; and it was owing more to Adamſon's dexterity in perplexing and lengthening out the proceſs for that purpoſe; than to their own want of zeal, that they did not deprive, and perhaps excommunicate all the biſhops in Scotland. When the king recovered his liberty, things put on a very different aſpect. The favour beſtowed upon Arran, the enemy of every thing decent and ſacred, and the rigorous proſecution of thoſe nobles who had been the moſt zealous defenders of the proteſtant cauſe, were conſidered as ſure preſages of the approaching ruin of the church. The clergy could not conceal their apprehenſions, nor view his impending danger in ſilence. Drury, who had been reſtored to his office as one of the miniſters of Edinburgh, openly applauded the *Raid of Ruthven* in the pulpit, at which the king was ſo enraged, that notwithſtanding ſome ſymptoms of his ſubmiſſion, he commanded him to reſign his charge in the city. Mr. Andrew Melvil, being ſummoned before the privy-council, to anſwer for the doctrine he had uttered in a ſermon at St Andrews, and accuſed of comparing the preſent grievances of the nation with thoſe under James III. and of intimating obliquely that they ought to be

redreſſed in the ſame manner, thought it incumbent on him to behave with great firmneſs. He declined the juriſdiction of a civil court, in a cauſe purely eccleſiaſtical; the preſbytery of which he was a member, had, as he contended, the ſole right to call him to account for words ſpoken in the pulpit; and neither the king nor council could judge, in the firſt inſtance, of the doctrine delivered by preachers, without violating the immunities of the church. This exemption from civil juriſdiction was a privilege which the popiſh eccleſiaſtics, admirable judges of whatever contributed to increaſe the luſtre or power of their body, had long ſtruggled for, and had at laſt obtained. If the ſame plea had now been admitted, the proteſtant clergy would have become independent on the civil magiſtrate; and an order of men extremely uſeful to ſociety while they inculcate thoſe duties which tend to promote its happineſs and tranquillity, might have become no leſs pernicious, by teaching, without fear or controul, the moſt dangerous principles, or by exciting their hearers to the moſt deſperate and lawleſs actions. James, jealous to exceſs of his prerogative, was alarmed at this daring encroachment on it; and as Melvil, by his learning and zeal, had acquired the reputation and authority of head of the party, he reſolved to puniſh him with the rigour which that pre eminence rendered neceſſary, and to diſcourage, by a timely ſeverity, the revival of ſuch a dangerous claim. Melvil, however, avoided his rage, by flying into England; and the pulpits reſounded with complaints that the king had extinguiſhed the light of learning in the kingdom, and deprived the church of the ableſt, and moſt faithful guardian of its liberties and diſcipline †.

Theſe violent declamations of the clergy againſt the meaſures of the court were extremely acceptable to the people. The conſpirators, though driven out of the kingdom, ſtill poſſeſſed great influence there; and as they had every thing to fear from the reſentment of a young prince, irritated by the furious counſels of Ar-

† Spotſw. 330. Cald. iii. 304.

ran, they never ceaſed ſoliciting their adherents to take arms in their defence. Gowrie, the only perſon among them who had ſubmitted to the king, and accepted of a pardon, ſoon repented of a ſtep which loſt him the eſteem of one party, without gaining the confidence of the other; and, after ſuffering many mortifications from the king's neglect, and the haughtineſs of Arran, he was at laſt commanded to leave Scotland, and to reſide in France. While he waited at Dundee for an opportunity to embark, he was informed that the earls of Angus, Mar, and the tutor of Glamis, had concerted a ſcheme for ſurpriſing the caſtle of Stirling. In his ſituation, little perſuaſion was neceſſary to draw him to engage in it. Under various pretexts he put off his voyage, and lay ready to take arms on the day fixed by the conſpirators for the execution of their enterpriſe. His lingering ſo long at Dundee, without any apparent reaſon, awakened the ſuſpicion of the court, proved fatal to himſelf, and diſappointed the ſucceſs of the conſpiracy. Colonel William Stewart ſurrounded the houſe where he lodged with a body of ſoldiers, and, in ſpite of his reſiſtance, took him priſoner. Two days after, Angus, Mar, and Glamis ſeized the caſtle of Stirling, and erecting their ſtandard there, publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring that they took arms for no other reaſon but to remove from the king's preſence a minion who had acquired power by the moſt unworthy actions, and who exerciſed it with the moſt intolerable inſolence. The account of Gowrie's impriſonment ſtruck a damp upon their ſpirits. They imputed it to his own treachery, and ſuſpected, that as he had formerly deſerted, he had now betrayed them. At the ſame time, a ſum of money, with which Elizabeth had promiſed to ſupply them, not being duly paid, and their friends and vaſſals coming in ſlowly, they appeared irreſolute and diſheartened; and as the king, who acted with great vigour, advanced towards them at the head of twenty thouſand men, they fled precipitately towards England, and with difficulty

made their escape *. This rash and feeble attempt produced such effects as usually follow disappointed conspiracies. It not only hurt the cause for which it was undertaken, but added strength and reputation to the king: confirmed Arran's power; and enabled them to pursue their measures with more boldness and greater success. Gowrie was the first victim of their resentment. After a very informal trial, a jury of peers found him guilty of treason, and he was publicly beheaded at Stirling.

To humble the church was the king's next step. But as it became necessary, for this purpose, to call in the aid of the legislative authority, a parliament was hastily summoned; and while so many of the nobles were banished out of the kingdom, or forbidden to appear in the king's presence; while Arran's haughtiness kept some at a distance, and intimidated others; the meeting consisted only of those who were absolutely at the devotion of the court. In order to conceal the laws which were framing from the knowledge of the clergy, the lords of the articles were sworn to secrecy; and when some of the ministers, who either suspected or were informed of the danger, deputed one of their number to declare their apprehensions to the king, he was seized at the palace-gate, and carried to a distant prison. Others, attempting to enter the parliament-house, were refused admittance †; and such laws were passed, as totally overturned the constitution and discipline of the church. The refusing to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the privy-council,-the pretending an exemption from the authority of the civil courts; the attempting to diminish the rights and privileges of any of the three estates in parliament, were declared to be high treason. The holding assemblies, whether civil or ecclesiastical, without the king's permission or appointment; the uttering, either privately or publicly; in sermons or in declamations, any false and scandalous re-

* Home's Hist. of House of Dougl. 379. Spotf. 33

† Cald. iii. 365.

ports againſt the king, his anceſtors, or miniſters were pronounced capital crimes †.

When theſe laws were publiſhed at the croſs of Edinburgh, according to the ancient cuſtom, Mr. Robert Pont, miniſter of St. Cuthberts, and one of the lords of ſeſſion, ſolemnly proteſted againſt them, in the name of his brethren, becauſe they had been paſſed without the knowledge or conſent of the church. Ever ſince the Reformation, the pulpits and eccleſiaſtical judicatories had both been eſteemed ſacred. In the former, the clergy had been accuſtomed to cenſure and admoniſh with unbounded liberty. In the latter, they exerciſed an uncontrouled and independent juriſdiction. The blow was now aimed at both theſe privileges. Theſe new ſtatutes would have rendered churchmen as inconſiderable as they were indigent: and as the avarice of the nobles had ſtripped them of the wealth, the king's ambition was about to deprive them of the power, which once belonged to their order. No wonder the alarm was univerſal, and the complaints loud. All the miniſters of Edinburgh forſook their charge and fled into England. The moſt eminent clergymen throughout the kingdom imitated their example. Deſolation and aſtoniſhment appeared in every part of the Scottiſh church: the people bewailed the loſs of paſtors whom they eſteemed; and full of conſternation at an event ſo unexpected, openly expreſſed their rage againſt Arran, and began to ſuſpect the king himſelf to be an enemy to the reformed religion ¶.

† Parl. 8. Jac. VI. ¶ Spotſw. 333.

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK SEVENTH.

CONTENTS.

Throkmorton's conſpiracy. Deſigns of Mary's adherents. Severe proceedings againſt the baniſhed Lords. Againſt the Clergy. Conſpiracy againſt Elizabeth. Oppoſition to Mary. Gray, a new favourite. His intereſt. Arran's corruption. Parry's conſpiracy. Severe ſtatute againſt Mary. A league againſt Elizabeth. Her wiſe conduct. Arran's power undermined. The baniſhed Lords return to Scotland. A parliament. Church Affairs. League with England. Babington's conſpiracy. Diſcovered. Mary accuſed. Her domeſtics and papers ſeized. Her trial. Her defence. Her ſentence confirmed by parliament. Elizabeth's diſſimulation. France interpoſes in behalf of Mary. James endeavours to ſave his mother. Mary's ſentence publiſhed. Mary treated with great rigour. James ſolicits in her behalf. Of Elizabeth's anxiety. Warrant for Mary's execution ſigned. Her behaviour at her death. Her character. Elizabeth endeavours to ſoothe James. Diſgrace of Gray. Annexation of church lands. Of the leſſer Barons. Of the Spaniſh armada. Conduct of James on that occaſion. A national covenant. The armada defeated. Intrigues of Philip and the Popiſh nobles. James's lenity to the conſpirators. His marriage.

WHILE Scotland was torn by thoſe inteſtine factions, Elizabeth was alarmed with the rumour of a project in agitation for ſetting Mary at liberty. Francis

Throkmorton, a Cheſhire gentleman, was ſuſpected in being deeply concerned in the deſign, and on that ſuſpicion he was taken into cuſtody. Among his papers were found two liſts, one of the principal harbours in the kingdom, with an account of their ſituation, and of the depth of the water in each; the other, of all the eminent Roman catholics in England. This circumſtance confirmed the ſuſpicion againſt him, and ſome dark and deſperate conſpiracy was ſuppoſed juſt ready to break out. At firſt he boldly avowed his innocence, and declared that the two papers were forged by the queen's miniſters, in order to intimidate or enſnare him; and he even endured the rack with the utmoſt fortitude. But being brought a ſecond time to the place of torture, his reſolution failed him, and he not only acknowledged that he had held a ſecret correſpondence with the queen of Scots, but diſcovered a deſign that was formed to invade England. The duke of Guiſe he ſaid, undertook to furniſh troops and to conduct the enterpriſe. The pope and king of Spain were to ſupply the money neceſſary for carrying it on; all the Engliſh exiles were eager to take arms; many of the catholics at home would be ready to join them at their landing; Mendoza, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, who was the life of the conſpiracy, ſpared no pains in fomenting the ſpirit of diſſaffection among the Engliſh, or in haſtening the preparation on the continent; and by his command, he made the two liſts, the copies whereof had been found in his poſſeſſion. This confeſſion he retracted at his trial; and returned to it again after ſentence was paſſed upon him; and retracted it once more at the place of execution *.

To us in the preſent age, who are aſſiſted in forming our opinion of this matter, by the light which time and hiſtory have thrown upon the deſigns and characters of the princes of Guiſe, many circumſtances in Throkmorton's confeſſion appear to be extremely remote from truth, or even from probability. The duke

* Holinſhed, 1370.

of Guiſe was at that juncture, far from being in a ſituation to undertake foreign conqueſts. Without either power or office at court; hated by the king; and perſecuted by favourites; he had no leiſure for any thoughts of diſturbing the quiet of neighbouring ſtates; and his vaſt and ambitious mind was wholly occupied in laying the foundation of that famous league which ſhook the throne of France. But about the time Elizabeth detected this conſpiracy, the cloſe union between the houſe of Guiſe and Philip II. was remarkable to all Europe; and as their great enterpriſe againſt Henry III. was not yet diſcloſed, they endeavoured to conceal that under their threatenings to invade England. Throkmorton's diſcovery appeared to be extremely probable; and Elizabeth, who knew how ardently all the parties mentioned by him wiſhed her downfal, thought that ſhe could not guard her kingdom with too much care. The indiſcreet zeal of the Engliſh exiles increaſed her fears. Not ſatisfied with inceſſant outcries againſt her ſeverity towards the Scottiſh queen, and her cruel perſecution of her catholic ſubjects, not thinking it enough that one pope had threatened her with the ſentence of excommunication, and another had actually pronounced it, they now began to diſperſe books and writings in which they endeavoured to perſuade their diſciples, that it would be a meritorious action to take away her life; they openly exhorted the maids of honour to treat her as Judith did Holofernes, and, by ſuch an illuſtrious deed to render their own names honourable and ſacred in the church throughout all future ages*. For theſe reaſons, Elizabeth not only inflicted the puniſhment of a traitor on Throkmorton, but commanded the Spaniſh ambaſſador inſtantly to leave England; and that ſhe might be in no danger of being attacked within the iſland, ſhe determined to uſe her utmoſt efforts, in order to recover that influence over the Scottiſh councils, which ſhe had for ſome time entirely loſt.

There were three different methods by which Eliza-

* Camd. 497.

beth might hope to accompliſh this; either by furniſhing ſuch effectual aid to the baniſhed nobles, as would enable them to reſume the chief direction of affairs; or by entering into ſuch a treaty with Mary, as might intimidate her ſon, who being now accuſtomed to govern, would be apt to agree to any terms rather than reſign the ſceptre, or admit an aſſociate in the throne; or by gaining the earl of Arran, to ſecure the direction of the king his maſter. The laſt was not only the eaſieſt and ſpeedieſt, but the moſt certain of ſucceſs. This Elizabeth reſolved to purſue; but without laying the other two altogether aſide. With this view ſhe ſent Daviſon, one of her principal ſecretaries, and a man of abilities and addreſs, into Scotland. A miniſter ſo venal as Arran, hated by his own countrymen, and holding his power by the moſt precarious of all tenures, the favour of a young prince, accepted Elizabeth's offers without heſitation, and eſteemed the acquiſition of her protection to be the moſt ſolid foundation of his own greatneſs. Soon after he conſented to an interview with Lord Hunſdon, the governor of Berwick, and being honoured with the pompous title of lieutenant-general for the king, he appeared at the place appointed with a ſplendid train. In Hunſdon's preſence he renewed his promiſes of an inviolable and faithful attachment to the Engliſh intereſt, and aſſured him that James ſhould enter into no negotiation which tended to interrupt the peace between the two kingdoms; and as Elizabeth began to entertain the ſame fears and jealouſies concerning the king's marriage, which had formerly diſquieted her with regard to his mother's, he undertook to prevent James from liſtening to any overture of that kind, until he had previouſly obtained the queen of England's conſent *.

The baniſhed lords and their adherents ſoon felt the effects of Arran's friendſhip with England. As Elizabeth had permitted them to take refuge in her dominions, and ſeveral of her miniſters were of opinion that ſhe ought to employ her arms in defence of their cauſe,

* Cald. iii. 491. Melv. 315. See Append. No. X.

the fear of this was the only thing which reſtrained James and his favourite from proceeding to ſuch extremities againſt them, as might have excited the pity or indignation of the Engliſh, and have prompted them to exert themſelves with vigour in their behalf. But every apprehenſion of this kind being now removed, they ventured to call a parliament, in which an act was paſſed, attainting Angus, Mar, Glamis, and a great number of their followers. Their eſtates devolved to the crown, and according to the practice of the Scottiſh monarchs, who were obliged to reward the faction which adhered to them, by dividing with it the ſpoils of the vanquiſhed, James dealt out the greater part of theſe to Arran and his aſſociates †.

Nor was the treatment of the clergy leſs rigorous. All miniſters, readers, and profeſſors in colleges, were enjoined to ſubſcribe, within forty days, a paper teſtifying their approbation of the laws concerning the church enacted in laſt parliament. Many, overawed or corrupted by the court, yielded obedience; others ſtood out. The ſtipends of the latter were ſequeſtrated, ſome of the more active committed to priſon, and numbers compelled to fly the kingdom. Thoſe who complied, fell under the ſuſpicion of acting from mercenary or ambitious motives. Thoſe who ſuffered acquired high reputation, by giving ſuch convincing evidence of their firmneſs and ſincerity. The judicatories of the church were almoſt entirely ſuppreſſed. In ſome places ſcarce as many miniſters remained, as to perform the duties of religious worſhip; they ſoon ſunk in reputation among the people, and being prohibited not only from diſcourſing of public affairs, but obliged, by the jealouſy of the adminiſtration, to frame every ſentiment and expreſſion in ſuch a manner as to give the court no offence, their ſermons were deemed languid, inſipid, and contemptible; and it became the general opinion, that, together with the moſt virtuous of the nobles and the moſt faithful of the clergy, the

† Cald. iii. 527.

power and vigour of religion were now baniſhed out of the kingdom †.

Mean while, Elizabeth was carrying on one of thoſe fruitleſs negotiations with the queen of Scots, which it had become, almoſt matter of form to renew every year. They ſerved not only to amuſe that unhappy princeſs with ſome proſpect of liberty; but furniſhed an apology for eluding the ſolicitations of foreign powers in her behalf, and were of uſe to overawe James, by ſhewing him that ſhe could at any time ſet free a dangerous rival to diſpute his authority. Theſe treaties ſhe ſuffered to proceed to what length ſhe pleaſed, and never wanted a pretence for breaking them off, when they became no longer neceſſary. The treaty now on foot was not, perhaps, more ſincere than many which preceded it; the reaſons, however, which rendered it ineffectual were far from being frivolous.

As Crichton, a jeſuit, was ſailing from Flanders towards Scotland, the ſhip on board of which he was a paſſenger happened to be chaſed by pirates, who, in that age, often infeſted the narrow ſeas. Crichton, in great confuſion, tore in pieces ſome papers in his cuſtody, and threw them away; but, by a very extraordinary accident, the wind blew them back into the ſhip, and they were immediately taken up by ſome of the paſſengers, who carried them to Wade, the clerk of the privy-council. He, with great induſtry and patience, joined them together, and they were found to contain the account of a plot formed by the king of Spain and the duke of Guiſe, for invading England. The people were not yet recovered from the fear and anxiety occaſioned by the conſpiracy in which Throkmorton had been engaged, and as his diſcoveries appeared now to be confirmed by additional evidence, not only all their former apprehenſions recurred, but the conſternation became general and exceſſive. As all the dangers, with which England had been threatened for ſome years, flowed either immediately from Mary herſelf, or from thoſe who made uſe of her name to

† Cald. iii. 589.

juſtify their inſurrections and conſpiracies, this gradually diminiſhed the compaſſion due to her ſituation, and the Engliſh, inſtead of pitying, began to fear and to hate her. Elizabeth, under whoſe wiſe and pacific reign the Engliſh enjoyed tranquillity, and had opened ſources of wealth unknown to their anceſtors, was extremely beloved by all her people; and regard to her ſafety, not leſs than to their intereſt, animated them againſt the Scottiſh queen. In order to diſcourage her adherents, it was thought neceſſary to convince them, by ſome public deed, of the attachment of the Engliſh to their own ſovereign, and that any attempt againſt her life would prove fatal to her rival. With this view an *Aſſociation* was framed, the ſubſcribers of which bound themſelves by the moſt ſolemn oaths, "to de-"fend the queen againſt all her enemies, foreign and "domeſtic; and if violence ſhould be offered to her life, "in order to favour the title of any pretender to the "crown, they not only engaged never to allow or "acknowledge the perſon or perſons by whom, or for "whom, ſuch a deteſtable act ſhould be committed, "but vowed, in the preſence of the eternal God, to "proſecute ſuch perſon or perſons to the death, and "to purſue them, with their utmoſt vengeance, to "their utter overthrow and extirpation †." Perſons of all ranks ſubſcribed this combination with the greateſt eagerneſs and unanimity ‖.

Mary conſidered this combination, not only as an avowed deſign to exclude her from all right of ſucceſſion, but as the certain and immediate forerunner of her deſtruction. In order to avert this, ſhe made ſuch feeble efforts as were ſtill in her power, and ſent Naué, her ſecretary, to court, with offers of more entire reſignation to the will of Elizabeth, in all points, which had been the occaſion of their long enmity, than her paſt ſufferings hitherto had been able to extort §. But whether Mary adhered inflexibly to her privileges as an independent ſovereign or yielding to the neceſſity of her ſituation, endeavoured, by conceſſions, to ſoothe

† State Trials, i. 122. ‖ Camd. 499. § Id. ibid.

her rival, ſhe was equally unſucceſsful. Her firmneſs was imputed to obſtinacy, or to the ſecret hope of foreign aſſiſtance; her conceſſions were either believed to be inſincere, or to flow from the fear of ſome preſent danger. Her willingneſs, however, to comply with any terms was ſo great, that Walſingham warmly urged his miſtreſs to come to a final agreement with her. But Elizabeth was perſuaded, that it was the ſpirit raiſed by the aſſociation which had rendered her ſo paſſive and compliant. She always imagined that there was ſomething myſterious and deceitful in all Mary's actions, and ſuſpected her of carrying on a dangerous correſpondence with the Engliſh catholics both within and without the kingdom. Nor were her ſuſpicions altogether void of foundation. Mary had, about this time, written a letter to ſir Francis Inglefield, urging him to haſten the execution of what ſhe calls the *Great Plot or Deſignment*, without heſitating on account of any danger in which it might involve her life, which ſhe would moſt willingly part with, if, by that ſacrifice, ſhe could procure relief for ſo great a number of the oppreſſed children of the church *. Inſtead, therefore, of hearkening to the overtures which the Scottiſh queen made, or granting any mitigation of the hardſhips of which ſhe complained, Elizabeth reſolved to take her out of the hands of the earl of Shrewſbury, and to appoint ſir Amias Paulet and ſir Drue Drury to be her keepers. Shrewſbury had diſcharged his truſt with great fidelity, during fifteen years, but, at the ſame time, had treated Mary with gentleneſs and reſpect, and had always ſweetened harſh commands by the humanity with which he put them in execution. The ſame politeneſs was not to be expected from men of an inferior rank, whoſe ſevere vigilance, perhaps, was their chief recommendation to that employment, and the only merit by which they could pretend to gain favour or preferment †.

As James was no leſs eager than ever to deprive the baniſhed nobles of Elizabeth's protection, he appointed

* Strype, iii. 240. † Camd. 500.

the maſter of Gray his ambaſſador to the court of England, and intruſted him with the conduct of a negotiation for that purpoſe. An honour for which he was indebted to the envy and jealouſy of the earl of Arran. Gray poſſeſſed all the talents of a courtier; a graceful perſon, an inſinuating addreſs, boundleſs ambition, and a reſtleſs and intriguing ſpirit. During his reſidence in France, he had been admitted into the moſt intimate familiarity with the duke of Guiſe, and in order to gain his favour, had renounced the proteſtant religion, and profeſſed the utmoſt zeal for the captive queen, who carried on a ſecret correſpondence with him, from which ſhe expected great advantages. On his return into Scotland, he paid court to James with extraordinary aſſiduity, and his accompliſhments did not fail to make their uſual impreſſion on the king's heart. Arran, who had introduced him, began quickly to dread his growing favour; and flattering himſelf, that abſence would efface any ſentiments of tenderneſs from the mind of a young prince, pointed him out, by his malicious praiſes, as the moſt proper perſon in the kingdom for an embaſſy of ſuch importance; and contributed to raiſe him to that high dignity, in order to haſten his fall. Elizabeth, who had an admirable dexterity in diſcovering the proper inſtruments for carrying on her deſigns, endeavoured, by careſſes, and by preſents, to ſecure Gray to her intereſt. The former flattered his vanity, which was great; the latter ſupplied his profuſeneſs, which was ſtill greater. He abandoned himſelf without reſerve to Elizabeth's direction, and not only undertook to preſerve the king under the influence of England, but acted as a ſpy upon the Scottiſh queen, and betrayed to her rival every ſecret that he could draw from her by his high pretenſions of zeal in her ſervice *.

Gray's credit with the Engliſh court was extremely galling to the baniſhed nobles. Elizabeth no longer thought of employing her power to reſtore them; ſhe found it eaſier to govern Scotland by corrupting the

* Strype, iii. 302. Melv. 316.

king's favourites; and, in compliance with Gray's ſolicitations, ſhe commanded the exiles to leave the north of England, and to remove into the heart of the kingdom. This rendered it difficult for them to hold any correſpondence with their partiſans in Scotland, and almoſt impoſſible to return thither without her permiſſion. Gray, by gaining a point which James had ſo much at heart, riveted himſelf more firmly that ever in his favour; and by acquiring greater reputation, became capable of ſerving Elizabeth with greater ſucceſs†.

Arran had now poſſeſſed for ſome time all the power, the riches, and the honours, that his immoderate ambition could deſire, or the fondneſs of a prince, who ſet no limits to his liberality towards his favourites, could beſtow. The office of lord chancellor, the higheſt and moſt important in the kingdom, was conferred upon him, even during the life of the earl of Argyll, who ſucceeded Athol in that dignity‡; and the public beheld, with aſtoniſhment and indignation, a man educated as a ſoldier of fortune, ignorant of law, and a contemner of juſtice, appointed to preſide in parliament, in the privy-council, in the court of ſeſſion, and intruſted with the ſupreme diſpoſal of the property of his fellow-ſubjects. He was, at the ſame time, governor of the caſtles of Stirling and Edinburgh; the two principal forts in Scotland; provoſt of the city of Edinburgh; and as if by all theſe accumulated dignities his merits had not been ſufficiently recompenſed, he was created lieutenant-general over the whole kingdom. No perſon was admitted into the king's preſence without his permiſſion; no favour could be obtained but by his mediation. James, occupied with youthful amuſements, devolved upon him the whole regal authority. Such unmerited elevation increaſed his natural arrogance, and rendered it intolerable. He was no longer content with the condition of a ſubject, but pretended to derive his pedigree from Murdo duke of Albany; and boaſted openly,

† Cald. iii. 643. ‡ Crawf. Offic. of State, App. 447.

that his title to the crown was preferable to that of the king himself. But, together with these thoughts of royalty, he retained the meanness suitable to his primitive state. His venality as a judge was scandalous, and was exceeded only by that of his wife, who, in defiance of decency, made herself a party in almost every question which came to be decided, employed her influence to corrupt or to overawe the judges, and almost openly dictated their decisions*. His rapaciousness as a minister was insatiable. Not satisfied with the revenues of so many offices; with the estate and honours which belonged to the house of Hamilton; or with the greater part of Gowrie's lands, which had fallen to his share; he grasped at the possessions of several of the nobles. He required lord Maxwell to exchange part of his estate, for the forfeited lands of Kinneil; and because he was unwilling to quit an ancient inheritance for a possession so precarious, he stirred up against him his old rival, the laird of Johnston, and involved that corner of the kingdom in a civil war. He committed to prison the earl of Athol, lord Home, and the master of Cassils; the first, because he would not divorce his wife, a daughter of the earl of Gowrie, and entail his estate on him; the second, because he was unwilling to part with some lands adjacent to one of his estates; and the third, for refusing to lend him money. His spies and informers filled the whole country, and intruded themselves into every company. The nearest neighbours distrusted and feared each other. All familiar society was at an end. Even the common intercourses of humanity were interrupted, no man knowing in whom to confide, or where to utter his complaints. There is not perhaps in history an example of a minister so universally detestable to a nation, or who more justly deserved its detestation †.

Arran, notwithstanding, regardless of the sentiments, and despising the murmurs of the people, gave a loose to his natural temper, and proceeded to acts still more

* Cald. iii. Scotstarvet's Staggering State, 7.
† Spotsw. 337, 338, 331.

violent. David Home of Argaty, and Patrick his brother, having received letters from one of the baniſhed lords, about private buſineſs, were condemned and put to death, for holding correſpondence with rebels. Cunninghame of Drumwhaſel, and Douglas of Mains, two gentlemen of honour and reputation, were accuſed of having conſpired with the exiled nobles to ſeize the king's perſon. A ſingle witneſs only appeared: The evidence they produced of their innocence was unanſwerable; their accuſer himſelf not long after acknowledged that he had been ſuborned by Arran; and all men believed the charge againſt them to be groundleſs: they were found guilty, notwithſtanding, and ſuffered the death of traitors, Feb. 9, 1585.†

About the ſame time that theſe gentlemen were puniſhed for a pretended conſpiracy, Elizabeth's life was endangered by a real one. Parry, a doctor of laws, and a member of the houſe of commons, a man vain and fantaſtic, but of a reſolute ſpirit, had lately been reconciled to the church of Rome; and fraught with the zeal of a new convert, he offered to demonſtrate the ſincerity of his attachment to the religion which he had embraced, by killing Elizabeth. Cardinal Allen had publiſhed a book, to prove the murder of an excommunicated prince to be not only lawful, but a meritorious action. The pope's nuncio at Venice, the jeſuits both there and at Paris, the Engliſh exiles, all approved of the deſign. The pope himſelf exhorted him to perſevere; and granted him for his encouragement a plenary indulgence, and remiſſion of his ſins. Cardinal di Como wrote to him a letter to the ſame purpoſe. But though he often got acceſs to the queen, fear or ſome remaining ſenſe of duty, reſtrained him from perpetrating the crime. Happily his intention was at laſt diſcovered by Nevil, the only perſon in England to whom he had communicated it; and he himſelf having voluntarily confeſſed his guilt, he ſuffered the puniſhment which it deſerved *.

† Ibid. 338. Cald. iii. 794. * State Trials, vol. i. 103.

These repeated conspiracies against their sovereign awakened the indignation of the English parliament, and produced a very extraordinary statute, which, in the end, proved fatal to the queen of Scots. By this law the association in defence of Elizabeth's life was ratified, and it was farther enacted, "That if any rebellion "shall be excited in the kingdom or any thing attempted to the hurt of her majesty's person, *by or for* "any person pretending a title to the crown, the queen "shall empower twenty-four persons by a commission "under the great seal, to examine into, and pass sentence upon such offences; and after judgment given, "a proclamation shall be issued, declaring the persons "whom they find guilty excluded from any right to "the crown; and her majesty's subjects may lawfully "pursue every one of them to the death, with all their "aiders and abettors: and if any design against the life "of the queen take effect, the persons *by or for* whom "such a detestable act is executed, and *their issues*, being "in any wise assenting or privy to the same, shall be "disabled for ever from pretending to the crown, and "be pursued to death in the like manner †." This act was plainly levelled at the queen of Scots; and whether we consider it as a voluntary expression of the zeal and concern of the nation for Elizabeth's safety, or whether we impute it to the influence which that artful princess preserved over her parliaments, it is no easy matter to reconcile it with the general principles of justice or humanity. Mary was thereby rendered accountable not only for her own actions, but for those of others; in consequence of which, she might forfeit her right of succession, and even her life itself.

Mary justly considered this act as a warning to prepare for the worst extremities. Elizabeth's ministers, it is probable, had resolved by this time to take away her life; and suffered books to be published, in order to persuade the nation that this cruel and unprecedented measure was not only necessary but just ‡. Even that short period of her days which she remained, they

† Ibid. 123. ‡ Strype, iii. 299.

rendered uncomfortable, by every hardſhip and indignity which it was in their power to inflict. Almoſt all her ſervants were diſmiſſed, ſhe was treated no longer with the reſpect due to a queen; and, though the rigour of ſeventeen years impriſonment had broken her conſtitution, ſhe was confined to two ruinous chambers, ſcarce habitable, even in the middle of ſummer by reaſon of cold. Notwithſtanding the ſcantineſs of her revenue, ſhe had been accuſtomed to diſtribute regularly ſome alms among the poor in the village adjoining to the caſtle. Paulet now refuſed her liberty to perform this pious and humane office, which had afforded her great conſolation amidſt her own ſufferings. The caſtle in which ſhe reſided was converted into a common priſon; and a young man, ſuſpected of popery, was confined there, and treated with ſuch rigour under her eye, that he died of the ill uſage. She often complained to Elizabeth of theſe multiplied injuries, and expoſtulated as became a woman and a queen; but as no political reaſon now obliged that princeſs, to amuſe her any longer with fallacious hopes, far from granting her any redreſs, ſhe did not even deign to give her any anſwer. The king of France, cloſely allied to Elizabeth, on whom he depended for aſſiſtance, was afraid of eſpouſing Mary's cauſe with any warmth; and all his ſolicitations in her behalf were feeble, formal, and inefficacious. But Caſtelnau, the French ambaſſador, whoſe compaſſion and zeal for the unhappy queen ſupplied the defects in his inſtructions, remonſtrated with ſuch vigour againſt the indignities to which ſhe was expoſed, that, by his importunity, he prevailed at length to have her removed to Tuthbury; though ſhe was confined the greater part of another winter in her preſent wretched habitation *.

Neither the inſults of her enemies, nor the neglect of her friends, made ſuch an impreſſion on Mary, as the ingratitude of her ſon. James had hitherto treated his mother with filial reſpect, and had even entered into

* Jebb. v. 2. 576—598.

negotiations with her, which gave umbrage to Elizabeth. But as it was not her intereſt that his good correſpondence ſhould continue, Gray, who, on his return in Scotland found his favour with the king greatly increaſed by the ſucceſs of his embaſſy, perſuaded him to write a harſh and undutiful letter to his mother, in which he expreſsly refuſed to acknowledge her to be the queen of Scotland, or to conſider his affairs as connected, in any wiſe, with hers. This cruel requital of her maternal tenderneſs overwhelmed Mary with ſorrow and deſpair. "Was it for this," ſaid ſhe, in a letter to the French ambaſſador, "that I have endured ſo "much, in order to preſerve for him the inheritance, "to which I have a juſt right? I am far from envying "his authority in Scotland. I deſire no power there; "nor wiſh to ſet my foot in that kingdom, if it were "not for the pleaſure of once embracing a ſon, whom "I have hitherto loved with too tender affection. "Whatever he either enjoys, or expects, he derived it "from me. From him I never received aſſiſtance, "ſupply, or benefit of any kind. Let not my allies "treat him any longer as a king: he holds that dignity by my conſent; and if a ſpeedy repentance do "not appeaſe my juſt reſentment, I will load him with "a parent's curſe, and ſurrender my crown, with all "my pretenſions to one who will receive them with "gratitude, and defend them with vigour*." The love which James bore to his mother, whom he had never known, nay, whom he had been early taught to conſider as one of the moſt abandoned perſons of her ſex, cannot be ſuppoſed ever to have been ardent; and he did not now take any pains to regain her favour. But whether her indignation at his undutiful behaviour, added to her bigotted attachment to popery, prompted Mary at any time to think ſeriouſly of diſinheriting her ſon; or whether theſe threatenings were uttered in a ſudden ſally of diſappointed affection, it is now no eaſy matter to determine. Some papers which are ſtill

* Murdin, 566. Jebb. ii. 571. See Append. No. XII.

extant ſeem to render the former not improbable.†

Cares of another kind, and no leſs diſquieting, occupied Elizabeth's thoughts. The calm which ſhe had long enjoyed, ſeemed now to be at an end; and ſuch ſtorms were gathering in every quarter, as filled her with juſt alarm. All the neighbouring nations had undergone revolutions extremely to her diſadvantage. The great qualities which Henry III. had diſplayed in his youth, and which raiſed the expectations of his ſubjects ſo high, vaniſhed on his aſcending the throne; and his acquiring ſupreme power ſeems not only to have corrupted his heart, but to have impaired his underſtanding. He ſoon loſt the eſteem and affection of the nation; and a life divided between the auſterities of a ſuperſtitious devotion, and the extravagancies of the moſt diſſolute debauchery, rendered him as contemptible as he was odious on account of his rapaciouſneſs, his profuſion, and the fondneſs with which he doated on two unworthy minions. On the death of his only brother, thoſe ſentiments of the people burſt out with violence. Henry had no children, and though but thirty-two years of age, the ſucceſſion of the crown was already conſidered as open. The king of Navarre, a diſtant deſcendent of the royal family, but the undoubted heir to the crown, was a zealous proteſtant. The proſpect of an event ſo fatal to their religion, as his aſcending the throne of France, alarmed all the catholics in Europe; and the duke of Guiſe, countenanced by the pope, and aided by the king of Spain, appeared as the defender of the Romiſh faith, and the aſſertor of the cardinal of Bourbon's right to the crown. In order to unite the party, a bond of confederacy was formed, diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *Holy League*. All ranks of men joined in it with emulation. The ſpirit ſpread with the irreſiſtible rapidity which was natural to religious paſſions in that age. The deſtruction of the Reformation, not only in France, but all over Europe, ſeemed to be the object and wiſh of the whole party; and the duke of Guiſe, the head of this mighty and zealous body, ac-

† See Append. XIII.

quired authority in the kingdom far ſuperior to that which the king himſelf poſſeſſed. Philip II. by the conqueſt of Portugal, had greatly increaſed the naval power of Spain, and had at laſt reduced under his dominion all that portion of the continent which lies beyond the Pyrenean mountains, and which nature ſeems to have deſtined to form one great monarchy. William prince of Orange, who firſt encouraged the inhabitants of the Netherlands to aſſert their liberties, and whoſe wiſdom and valour formed and protected the riſing commonwealth, had fallen by the hands of an aſſaſſin. The ſuperior genius of the prince of Parma had given an entire turn to the fate of the war in the Low Countries; all his enterpriſes, concerted with conſummate ſkill, and executed with equal bravery, had been attended with uninterrupted ſucceſs; and the Dutch, reduced to the laſt extremity, were on the point of falling under the dominion of their ancient maſter.

None of thoſe circumſtances, to which Elizabeth had hitherto owed her ſecurity, exiſted any longer. She could derive no advantage from the jealouſy which had ſubſiſted between France and Spain; Philip, by means of his confederacy with the duke of Guiſe, had an equal ſway in the councils of both kingdoms. The hugonots were unable to contend with the power of the league; and little could be expected from any diverſion they might create. Nor was it probable that the Netherlands could long occupy the arms, or divide the ſtrength of Spain. In this ſituation of the affairs of Europe, it became neceſſary for Elizabeth to form a new plan of conduct; and her wiſdom in forming it was not greater than the vigour with which ſhe carried it on. The meaſures moſt ſuitable to her natural temper, and which ſhe had hitherto purſued, were cautious and ſafe; thoſe ſhe now adopted were enterpriſing and hazardous. She preferred peace, but was not afraid of war; and was capable, when compelled by neceſſity, not only of defending herſelf with ſpirit, but of attacking her enemies with a boldneſs which averted danger from her own dominions. She immediately furniſhed the hugonots with a conſiderable ſupply in money. She carried on a pri-

vate negotiation with Henry III. who, though compelled to join the league, hated the leaders of it, and wished for their deſtruction. She openly undertook the protection of the Dutch commonwealth, and ſent a powerful army to its aſſiſtance. She endeavoured to form a general confederacy of the proteſtant princes, in oppoſition to the popiſh league. She determined to proceed with the utmoſt rigour againſt the queen of Scots, whoſe ſufferings and rights afforded her enemies a ſpecious pretence for invading her dominions. She reſolved to redouble her endeavours, in order to effect a cloſer union with Scotland, and to extend and perpetuate her influence over the councils of that nation.

She found it no difficult matter to induce moſt of the Scottiſh courtiers to promote all her deſigns. Gray, ſir John Maitland, who had been advanced to the office of ſecretary, which his brother formerly held, ſir Lewis Bellenden, the juſtice clerk, who had ſucceeded Gray as the king's reſident at London, were the perſons in whom ſhe chiefly confided. In order to direct and quicken their motions, ſhe deſpatched ſir Edward Wotton along with Bellenden into Scotland. This man was gay, well-bred, and entertaining; he excelled in all the exerciſes for which James had a paſſion, and amuſed the young king by relating the adventures which he had met with, and the obſervations he had made during a long reſidence in foreign countries; but under the veil of theſe ſuperficial qualities, he concealed a dangerous and intriguing ſpirit. He ſoon grew into high favour with James; and while he was ſeemingly attentive only to pleaſure and diverſions, he acquired influence over the public councils, to a degree which was indecent for a ſtranger to poſſeſs*.

Nothing, however, could be more acceptable to the nation, than the propoſal he made of a ſtrict alliance between the two kingdoms, in defence of the reformed religion. The rapid and alarming progreſs of the popiſh league ſeemed to call on all proteſtant princes to unite for the preſervation of their common faith. James

* Melv. 317.

embraced the overture with warmth, and a convention of eſtates empowered him to conclude ſuch a treaty, and engaged to ratify it in parliament*. The alacrity with which James concurred in this meaſure muſt not be wholly aſcribed either to his own zeal, or to Wotton's addreſs; it was owing in part to Elizabeth's liberality As a mark of her motherly affection for the young king, ſhe ſettled on him an annual penſion of five thouſand pounds; the ſame ſum which her father had allotted her before ſhe aſcended the throne. This circumſtance, which ſhe took care to mention, rendered a ſum, which in that age was far from being inconſiderable, a very acceptable preſent to the king, whoſe revenues, during a long minority, had been almoſt totally diſſipated†.

But the chief object of Wotton's intrigues was to ruin Arran. While a minion ſo odious to the nation continued to govern the king, his aſſiſtance could be of little advantage to Elizabeth. And though Arran, ever ſince his interview with Hunſdon, had appeared extremely zealous for her intereſt, ſhe could place no great confidence in a man whoſe conduct was ſo capricious and irregular, and who, notwithſtanding his proteſtations to the contrary, ſtill continued a ſecret correſpondence both with Mary and with the duke of Guiſe. The baniſhed lords were attached to England from affection as well as principle, and were the only perſons among the Scots whom, in any dangerous exigency, ſhe could thoroughly truſt. Before Bellenden left London, they had been ſummoned thither, under colour of vindicating themſelves from his accuſations, but, in reality, to concert with him the moſt proper meaſures for reſtoring them to their country. Wotton purſued this plan, and endeavoured to ripen it for execution; and it was greatly facilitated by an event neither uncommon nor conſiderable. Sir John Forſter, and Ker of Ferniherſt, the Engliſh and Scottiſh wardens of the middle marches, having met, according to the cuſtom of the borders, about midſummer, a fray aroſe, and lord Ruſſel, the earl of Bedford's eldeſt ſon,

* Spotſw. 339. † Cald. iii. 505.

happened to be killed. This ſcuffle was purely accidental, but Elizabeth choſe to conſider it as a deſign formed by Ker, at the inſtigation of Arran, to involve the two kingdoms in war. She inſiſted that both of them ſhould be delivered up to her; and though James eluded that demand, he was obliged to confine Arran in St. Andrews and Ker in Aberdeen. During his abſence from court, Wotton and his aſſociates carried on their intrigues without interruption. By their advice, the baniſhed nobles endeavoured to accommodate their differences with lord John and lord Claud, the duke of Chatelherault's two ſons, whom Morton's violence had driven out of the kingdom. Their common ſufferings, and common intereſt, induced both parties to bury in oblivion the ancient diſcord which had ſubſiſted between the houſes of Hamilton and Douglas. By Elizabeth's permiſſion, they returned in a body to the borders of Scoland. Arran, who had again recovered favour, inſiſted on putting the kingdom in a poſture of defence: but Gray, Bellenden, and Maitland ſecretly thwarted all his meaſures. Some neceſſary orders they prevented from being iſſued; others they rendered ineffectual by the manner of execution; and all of them were obeyed ſlowly, and with reluctance *.

Wotton's fertile brain was, at the ſame time, big with another and more dangerous plot. He had contrived to ſeize the king, and to carry him by force into England. But the deſign was happily diſcovered; and, in order to avoid the puniſhment his treachery merited, he departed without taking leave †.

Mean while the baniſhed lords haſtened the execution of their enterpriſe; and as their friends and vaſſals were now ready to join them, they entered Scotland. Wherever they came, they were welcomed as the deliverers of their country, and the moſt fervent prayers were put up to heaven for the ſucceſs of their arms. They advanced, without loſing a moment, towards Stirling, at the head of ten thouſand men. The king, though he had aſſembled an army ſuperior in number, could not venture to

* Spotſw. 340. † Melv. 335

meet them in the field, with troops whoſe loyalty was extremely dubious, and who at beſt were far from being hearty in the cauſe; nor was either the town or caſtle provided for a ſiege. The gates, however, of both were ſhut, and the nobles encamped at St. Ninians. That ſame night they ſurpriſed the town, or more probably it was betrayed into their hands; and Arran, who had undertaken to defend it, was obliged to ſave himſelf by a precipitate flight. Next morning they inveſted the caſtle, in which there were not proviſions for twenty-four hours; and James was neceſſitated immediately to hearken to terms of accommodation. They were not ſo elated with ſucceſs as to urge extravagant demands, nor was the king unwilling to make every reaſonable conceſſion. They obtained a pardon, in the moſt ample form, of all the offences they had committed; the principal forts in the kingdom were, by way of ſecurity, put into their hands; Crawford, Montroſe, and colonel Stewart, were removed from the king's preſence; and a parliament was called, to eſtabliſh tranquillity in the nation ‡.

Though a great majority in this parliament conſiſted of the confederate nobles and their adherents, they were far from diſcovering a vindictive ſpirit. Satisfied with procuring an act, reſtoring them to their ancient honours and eſtates, and ratifying the pardon granted by the king, they ſeemed willing to forget all paſt errors in the adminiſtration, and ſpared James the mortification of ſeeing his miniſters branded with any public note of infamy. Arran alone, deprived of all his honours, ſtripped of his borrowed ſpoils, and declared an enemy to his country by public proclamation, ſunk back into obſcurity, and muſt henceforth be mentioned by his primitive title of Captain James Stewart. As he had been, during his unmerited proſperity, the object of the hatred and indignation of his countrymen, they beheld his fall without pity, nor did all his ſufferings mitigate their reſentment in the leaſt degree.

The clergy were the only body of men who obtained no redreſs of their grievances by this revolution. The

‡ Cald. iii. 795.

The confederate nobles had all along affected to be conſidered as guardians of the privileges and diſcipline of the church. In all their manifeſtos they had declared their reſolution to reſtore theſe, and by that popular pretence had gained many friends. It was now natural to expect ſome fruit of theſe promiſes, and ſome returns of gratitude towards many of the moſt eminent preachers who had ſuffered in their cauſe, and who demanded the repeal of the laws paſſed the preceding year. The king, however, was reſolute to maintain theſe laws in full authority; and as the nobles were extremely ſolicitous not to diſguſt him, by inſiſting on any diſagreeable requeſt, the claims of the church in this, as well as in many former inſtances, were ſacrificed to the intereſt of the laity. The miniſters gave vent to their indignation in the pulpit, and their impatience under the diſappointment broke out in ſome expreſſions extremely diſreſpectful even towards the king himſelf‖.

The archbiſhop of St. Andrews, too, felt the effects of their anger. The provincial ſynod of Fife ſummoned him to appear, and to anſwer for his contempt of the decrees of former aſſemblies, in preſuming to exerciſe the function of a biſhop. And though he refuſed to acknowledge the juriſdiction of the court, and appealed from it to the king, a ſentence of excommunication, equally indecent and irregular, was pronounced againſt him. Adamſon, with no leſs indecency, thundered his archiepiſcopal excommunication againſt Melvil, and ſome other of his opponents.

Soon after, a general aſſembly was held, in which the king, with ſome difficulty, obtained an act, permitting the name and office of a biſhop ſtill to continue in the church. The power of the order, however, was conſiderably retrenched. The exerciſe of diſcipline, and the inſpection of the life and doctrine of the clergy, were committed to preſbyteries, in which biſhops ſhould be allowed no other pre-eminence but that of preſiding as perpetual moderators. They themſelves were declared

‖ Spotſw. 343.

to be ſubject, in the ſame manner as other paſtors, to the juriſdiction of the general aſſembly. And as the diſcuſſion of the archbiſhop's appeal might have kindled unuſual heats in the aſſembly, that affair was terminated by a compromiſe. He renounced any claim of ſupremacy over the church, and promiſed to demean himſelf ſuitably to the character of a biſhop, as deſcribed by St. Paul. The aſſembly, without examining the foundations of the ſentence of excommunication, declared that it ſhould be held of no effect, and reſtored him to all the privileges which he enjoyed before it was pronounced. Notwithſtanding the extraordinary tenderneſs ſhewn for the honour of the ſynod, and the delicacy and reſpect with which its juriſdiction was treated, ſeveral members were ſo zealous as to proteſt againſt this deciſion *.

The court of Scotland was now filled with perſons ſo warmly attached to Elizabeth, that the league between the two kingdoms, which had been propoſed laſt year, met with no interruption, but from D'Eſneval the French envoy. James himſelf firſt propoſed to renew the negotiation. Elizabeth did not ſuffer ſuch a favourable opportunity to ſlip, and inſtantly deſpatched Randolph to conclude a treaty which ſhe ſo much deſired. The danger to which the proteſtant religion was expoſed, by the late combination of the popiſh powers for its deſtruction, and the neceſſity of a ſtrict confederacy among thoſe who had embraced the Reformation, in order to obſtruct their pernicious deſigns, were mentioned as the foundation of the league. The chief articles in it were, that both parties ſhould bind themſelves to defend the evangelic religion; that the league ſhould be offenſive and defenſive againſt all who ſhall endeavour to diſturb the exerciſe of religion in either kingdom; that if one of the two parties be invaded, the other, notwithſtanding any former alliance, ſhould not, directly or indirectly, aſſiſt the invader; that if England be invaded in any part remote from Scotland, James ſhould aſſiſt the queen with two thouſand horſe and five thouſand foot; that if the enemy landed or approached within ſixty

* Cald. iii. 894. Spotſw. 346.

miles of Scotland, the king ſhould take the field with his whole forces, in the ſame manner as he would do in defence of his own kingdom. Elizabeth, in return, undertook to act in defence of Scotland, if it ſhould be invaded. At the ſame time ſhe aſſured the king that no ſtep ſhould be taken, which might derogate in any degree from his pretenſions to the Engliſh crown *. Elizabeth expreſſed great ſatisfaction with a treaty, which rendered Scotland an uſeful ally, inſtead of a dangerous neighbour, and afforded her a degree of ſecurity on that ſide, which all her anceſtors had aimed at, but none of them had been able to obtain. Zeal for religion, together with the bleſſings of peace, which both kingdoms had enjoyed during a conſiderable period, had ſo far abated the violence of national antipathy, that the king's conduct was univerſally acceptable to his own people †.

The acquittal of Archibald Douglas, at this time, expoſed James to much and deſerved cenſure. This man was deeply engaged in the conſpiracy againſt the life of the king his father. Both Morton and Binny one of his own ſervants, who ſuffered for that crime, had accuſed him of being preſent at the murder ‡. He had eſcaped puniſhment by flying into England, and James had often required Elizabeth to deliver up a perſon ſo unworthy of her protection. He now obtained a licence, from the king himſelf, to return into Scotland; and after undergoing a mock trial, calculated to conceal, rather than to detect his guilt, he was not only taken into favour by the king, but ſent back to the court of England, with the honourable character of his ambaſſador. James was now of ſuch an age, that his youth and inexperience cannot be pleaded in excuſe for this indecent tranſaction. It muſt be imputed to the exceſſive facility of his temper, which often led him to gratify his courtiers at the expence of his own dignity and reputation §.

Not long after, the inconſiderate affection of the Eng

* Spotſw. 351. † Camd. 513. ‡ See Append. No. XI.
§ Spotſw. 348. Cald. iii. 917.

liſh catholics towards Mary, and their implacable reſentment againſt Elizabeth, gave riſe to a conſpiracy which proved fatal to the one queen, left an indelible ſtain on the reputation of the other, and preſented a ſpectacle to Europe of which there had hitherto been no example in the hiſtory of mankind.

Doctor Gifford, Gilbert Gifford, and Hodgſon, prieſts educated in the ſeminary at Rheims, had adopted an extravagant and enthuſiaſtic notion, that the bull of Pius V. againſt Elizabeth was dictated immediately by the Holy Ghoſt. This wild opinion they inſtilled into Savage, an officer in the Spaniſh army, noted for his furious zeal and daring courage; and perſuaded him that no ſervice could be ſo acceptable to Heaven, as to take away the life of an excommunicated heretic. Savage, eager to obtain the crown of martyrdom, bound himſelf by a ſolemn vow to kill Elizabeth. Ballard, a traffic-ing prieſt of that ſeminary, had at that time come over to Paris, and ſolicited Mendoza, the Spaniſh ambaſſador there, to procure an invaſion of England, while the affairs of the league were ſo proſperous, and the kingdom left naked by ſending ſo many of the queen's beſt troops into the Netherlands. Paget and the Engliſh exiles demonſtrated the fruitleſſneſs of ſuch an attempt, unleſs Elizabeth were firſt cut off, or the invaders ſecured of a powerful concurrence on their landing. If it could be hoped that either of theſe events would happen, effectual aid was promiſed; and in the mean time Ballard was ſent back to renew his intrigues.

He communicated his deſigns to Anthony Babington, a young gentleman in Derbyſhire, of a plentiful fortune, and many amiable qualities, who having contracted, during his reſidence in France, a familiarity with the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, had been recommended by him to the queen of Scots. He concurred with Paget, in conſidering the death of Elizabeth as a neceſſary preliminary to any invaſion. Ballard gave him hopes that an end would ſoon be put to her days, and imparted to him Savage's vow, who was now in London waiting for an opportunity to ſtrike the blow. But Babington thought the attempt of too much importance, to rely on

a ſingle hand for the execution of it, and propoſed that five reſolute gentlemen ſhould be joined with Savage in an enterpriſe, the ſucceſs of which was the foundation of all their hopes. He offered to find out perſons willing to undertake the ſervice, whoſe honour, ſecrecy, and courage they might ſafely truſt. He accordingly opened the matter to Edward Windſor, Thomas Saliſbury, Charles Tilney, Chidioc Tichbourne, Robert Gage, John Travers, Robert Barnwell, John Charnock, Henry Dun, John Jones, and Polly; all of them, except Polly, whoſe buſtling forward zeal introduced him into their ſociety, gentlemen of good families, united together in the bonds of private friendſhip, ſtrengthened by the more powerful tie of religious zeal. Many conſultations were held; their plan of operations was at laſt ſettled; and their different parts aſſigned. Babington himſelf was appointed to reſcue the queen of Scots; Saliſbury, with ſome others, undertook to excite ſeveral counties to take arms; the murder of the queen, the moſt dangerous and important of all, fell to Tichbourne and Savage, with four aſſociates. And ſo totally had their bigotted prejudices extinguiſhed the principles of honour, and the ſentiments of humanity ſuitable to their rank, that without ſcruple or compunction, they undertook an action which is viewed with horror, even when committed by the meaneſt and moſt profligate of mankind. This attempt, on the contrary, appeared to them no leſs honourable than it was deſperate; and in order to perpetuate the memory of it, they had a picture drawn containing the portraits of the ſix aſſaſſins, with that of Babington in the middle, and a motto intimating that they were jointly embarked in ſome hazardous deſign.

The conſpirators, as appears by this wanton and imprudent inſtance of vanity, ſeem to have thought a diſcovery ſcarce poſſible, and neither diſtruſted the fidelity of their companions, nor doubted the ſucceſs of their undertaking. But while they believed that their machinations were carried on with the moſt profound and impenetrable ſecrecy, every ſtep they took was ful-

ly known to Walſingham. Polly was one of his ſpies, and had entered into the conſpiracy, with no other deſign than to betray his aſſociates. Gilbert Gifford too, having been ſent over to England to quicken the motions of the conſpirators, had been gained by Walſingham, and gave him ſure intelligence of all their projects. That vigilant miniſter immediately imparted the diſcoveries which he had made to Elizabeth; and without communicating the matter to any other of the counſellors, they agreed, in order to underſtand the plot more perfectly, to wait until it was ripened into ſome form, and brought near the point of execution.

At laſt, Elizabeth thought it dangerous and criminal to expoſe her own life, and to tempt Providence any farther. Ballard, the prime mover in the whole conſpiracy, was arreſted. His aſſociates, diſconcerted and ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, endeavoured to ſave themſelves by flight. But within a few days, all of them, except Windſor, were ſeized in different places of the kingdom, and committed to the Tower. Though they had undertaken the part, they wanted the firm and determined ſpirit of aſſaſſins; and, influenced by fear or by hope, diſcovered all they knew. The indignation of the people, and their impatience to revenge ſuch an execrable combination againſt the life of their ſovereign, haſtened their trial, and all of them ſuffered the death of traitors*.

Thus far Elizabeth's conduct may be pronounced both prudent and laudable, nor can ſhe be accuſed of violating any law of humanity, or of taking any precautions beyond what were neceſſary for her own ſafety. But a tragical ſcene followed, with regard to which poſterity will paſs a very different judgment.

The frantic zeal of a few raſh young men accounts ſufficiently for all the wild and wicked deſigns which they had formed. But this was not the light in which Elizabeth and her miniſters choſe to place the conſpiracy. They repreſented Babington and his aſſociates to be inſtruments employed by the queen of Scots, the

* Camd. 515. State Trials, vol. i. 110.

real though ſecret author of ſo many attempts againſt the life of Elizabeth, and the peace of her kingdoms. They produced letters, which they aſcribed to her in ſupport of this charge. Theſe, as they gave out, had come into their hands by a very ſingular and myſterious method of conveyance. Gifford, on his return into England, had been intruſted with letters to Mary; but in order to make a trial of his fidelity and addreſs, they were only blank papers made up in that form. Theſe being ſafely delivered by him, he was afterwards employed without farther ſcruple. By Walſingham's permiſſion, and the connivance of Paulet, he bribed a tradeſman in the neighbourhood of Chartley, whither Mary had been conveyed, who depoſited the letters in a hole in the wall of the caſtle, covered with a looſe ſtone. Thence they were taken by the queen, and in the ſame manner her anſwers returned. All theſe were carried to Walſingham, opened by him, decyphered, ſealed again ſo dexterouſly that the fraud could not be perceived, and then tranſmitted to the perſons to whom they were directed. Two letters to Babington, with ſeveral to Mendoza, Paget, Engelfield, and the Engliſh fugitives, were procured by this artifice. It was given out, that in theſe letters Mary approved of the conſpiracy, and even of the aſſaſſination; that ſhe directed them to proceed with the utmoſt circumſpection, and not to take arms till foreign auxiliaries were ready to join them; that ſhe recommended the earl of Arundel, his brothers, and the young earl of Northumberland, as perſons proper to conduct and to add reputation to their enterpriſe; that ſhe adviſed them, if poſſible, to excite at the ſame time ſome commotion in Ireland; and above all, beſought them to concert with care the means of her eſcape, ſuggeſting to them ſeveral expedients for that purpoſe.

All theſe circumſtances were opened at the trial of the conſpirators; and while the nation was under the influence of thoſe terrors which the aſſociation had raiſed, and the late danger had augmented, they were believed without heſitation or enquiry, and ſpread a general alarm. Mary's zeal for her religion was well

known; and in that age, examples of the violent and ſanguinary ſpirit which it inſpired were numerous. All the cabals againſt the peace of the kingdom for many years had been carried on in her name; and it now appears evidently ſaid the Engliſh, that the ſafety of the one queen is incompatible with that of the other. Why, then, added they, ſhould the tranquillity of England be ſacrificed for the ſake of a ſtranger? Why is a life ſo dear to the nation expoſed to the repeated aſſaults of an exaſperated rival? The caſe ſuppoſed in the aſſociation has now happened, the ſacred perſon of our ſovereign has been threatened, and why ſhould not an injured people execute that juſt vengeance which they had vowed?

No ſentiments could be more agreeable than theſe to Elizabeth and her miniſters. They themſelves had at firſt propagated them among the people, and they now ſerved both as an apology and a motive for their proceeding to ſuch extremities againſt the Scottiſh queen as they had long meditated. The more injuries Elizabeth heaped on Mary, the more ſhe feared and hated that unhappy queen, and came at laſt to be perſuaded that there could be no other ſecurity for her own life, but the death of her rival. Burleigh and Walſingham had promoted ſo zealouſly all her meaſures with regard to Scottiſh affairs, and had acted with ſo little reſerve in oppoſition to Mary, that they had reaſon to dread the moſt violent effects of her reſentment, if ever ſhe would mount the throne of England. And therefore they endeavoured to hinder an event ſo fatal to themſelves, by confirming their miſtreſs's fear and hatred of the Scottiſh queen.

Mean while, Mary was guarded with unuſual vigilance, and great care was taken to keep her ignorant of the diſcovery of the conſpiracy. Sir Thomas Georges was at laſt ſent from court to acquaint her, both of it and of the imputation with which ſhe was loaded as acceſſary to that crime; and he ſurpriſed her with the account juſt as ſhe had got on horſeback to ride out along with her keepers. She was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, and would have returned to her apartment, but ſhe was

not permitted; and in her abſence, her private cloſet was broken open, her cabinet and papers were ſeized, ſealed and ſent up to court. Her principal domeſtics too were arreſted, and committed to different keepers. Nauè and Curle, her two ſecretaries the one a native of France, the other of Scotland, were carried priſoners to London. All the money in her cuſtody, amounting to little more than two thouſand pounds, was ſecured. And after leading her about for ſome days, from one gentleman's houſe to another, ſhe was conveyed to Fotheringay, a ſtrong caſtle in Northamptonſhire *.

No farther evidence could now be expected againſt Mary, and nothing remained but to decide what ſhould be her fate. With regard to this, Elizabeth, and thoſe miniſters in whom ſhe chiefly confided, ſeem to have taken their reſolution; but there was ſtill great variety of ſentiments among her other counſellors. Some thought it ſufficient to diſmiſs all Mary's attendants, and to keep her under ſuch cloſe reſtraint, as would cut of all poſſibility of correſponding with the enemies of the kingdom; and as her conſtitution, broken by long confinement, and her ſpirit dejected with ſo many cares, could not long ſupport ſuch an additional load, the queen and nation would ſoon be delivered from all their fears. But though it might be eaſy to ſecure Mary's own perſon, it was impoſſible to diminiſh the reverence which the Roman catholics had for her name, or to extinguiſh the compaſſion with which they viewed her ſufferings, while ſuch ſentiments continued, inſurrections and invaſions would never be wanting for her relief, and the only effect of any new rigour would be to render them more frequent and dangerous. For this reaſon the expedient was objected to.

A public and legal trial, though the moſt unexampled, was judged the moſt unexceptionable method of proceeding; and it had, at the ſame time, a ſemblance of juſtice, accompanied with an air of dignity. It was in vain to ſearch the ancient records for any ſtatute or precedent to juſtify ſuch an uncommon ſtep, as the trial of

* Camd. 517.

a foreign prince, who had not entered the kingdom in arms, but had fled thither for refuge. The proceedings againſt her were founded on the act of laſt parliament, and by applying it in this manner, the intention of thoſe who had framed that ſevere ſtatute became more apparent *.

Elizabeth reſolved that no circumſtance of pomp or ſolemnity ſhould be wanting, which could render this tranſaction ſuch as became the dignity of the perſon to be tried. She appointed, by a commiſſion under the great ſeal, forty perſons, the moſt illuſtrious in the kingdom by their birth or offices, together with five of the judges, to hear and decide this great cauſe. Many difficulties were ſtarted by the lawyers about the name and title by which Mary ſhould be arrainged; and while the eſſentials of juſtice were ſo groſsly violated, the empty forms of it were the objects of their care. They at length agreed that ſhe ſhould be ſtyled "Mary, "daughter and heir of James V. late king of Scots, "commonly called queen of Scots, and dowager of "France †."

After the many indignities which ſhe had lately ſuffered; Mary could no longer doubt but that her deſtruction was determined. She expected every moment to end her days by poiſon, or by ſome of thoſe ſecret means uſually employed againſt captive princes. Leſt the malice of her enemies, at the ſame time that it deprived her of life, ſhould endeavour likewiſe to blaſt her reputation, ſhe wrote to the duke of Guiſe, and vindicated herſelf, in the ſtrongeſt terms, from the imputation of encouraging or of being acceſſary to the conſpiracy for aſſaſſinating Elizabeth ‡. In the ſolitude of her priſon, the ſtrange reſolution of bringing her to a public trial had not reached her ears, nor did the idea of any thing ſo unprecedented, and ſo repugnant to regal majeſty, once enter into her thoughts.

On the eleventh of October, the commiſſioners appointed by Elizabeth arrived at Fotheringay. Next

* Camd. 519. Johnſt. Hiſt. 113. † Strype, iii. 361.
‡ Jebb, ii. 283.

morning they delivered a letter from her to Mary, in which, after the bittereſt reproaches and accuſations, ſhe informed her that regard to her own ſafety had at laſt rendered it neceſſary to make a public inquiry into her conduct, and therefore required her, as ſhe had lived ſo long under the protection of the laws of England, to ſubmit now to the trial which they ordained to be taken of her crimes. Mary, though ſurpriſed at this meſſage, was neither appalled at the danger, nor unmindful of her own dignity. She proteſted, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that ſhe was innocent of the crime laid to her charge, and had never countenanced any attempt againſt the life of the queen of England; but at the ſame time refuſed to acknowledge the juriſdiction of her commiſſioners. "I came into the kingdom," ſaid ſhe, "an "independent ſovereign, to implore the queen's aſſiſt-"ance, not to ſubject myſelf to her authority. Nor is "my ſpirit ſo broken by its paſt misfortunes, or ſo in-"timidated by preſent dangers, as to ſtoop to any thing "unbecoming the majeſty of a crowned head, or that "will diſgrace the anceſtors from whom I am deſcend-"ed, and the ſon to whom I ſhall leave my throne. "If I muſt be tried, princes alone can be my peers. "The queen of England's ſubjects, however noble "their birth may be, are of a rank inferior to mine. "Ever ſince my arrival in this kingdom I have been "confined as a priſoner. Its laws never afforded me "any protection. Let them not now be perverted, in "order to take away my life."

The commiſſioners employed arguments and intreaties to overcome Mary's reſolution. They even threatened to proceed according to the forms of law, and to paſs ſentence againſt her on account of her contumacy in refuſing to plead; ſhe perſiſted, however, for two days to decline their juriſdiction. An argument urged by Hatton, the vice-chamberlain, at laſt prevailed. He told her, that, by avoiding a trial, ſhe injured her own reputation, and deprived herſelf of the only opportunity of ſetting her innocence in a clear light; and that nothing would be more agreeable to them, or more acceptable to the queen their miſtreſs, than to be convin-

ced, by undoubted evidence, that she had been unjustly loaded with these foul aspersions.

No wonder pretexts so plausible should impose on the unwary queen, or that she, unassisted at that time by any friend or counsellor, should not be able to detect and elude all the artifices of Elizabeth's ablest ministers. In a situation equally melancholy, and under circumstances nearly similar, her grandson, Charles I. refused, with the utmost firmness, to acknowledge the usurped jurisdiction of the high court of justice; and posterity has approved his conduct, as suitable to the dignity of a king. If Mary was less constant in her resolution, it must be imputed solely to her anxious desire of vindicating her own honour.

At her appearance before the judges, who were seated in the great hall of the castle, where they received her with much ceremony, she took care to protest, that by condescending to hear and to give an answer to the accusations which should be offered against her, she neither acknowledged the jurisdiction of the court, nor admitted of the validity and justice of those acts by which they pretended to try her.

The chancellor, by a counter-protestation, endeavoured to vindicate the authority of the court.

Then the queen's attorney and solicitor opened the charge against her, with all the circumstances of the late conspiracy. Copies of her letters to Mendoza, Babington, Engelfield, and Paget, were produced. Babington's confession, those of Ballard, Savage, and the other conspirators, together with the declarations of Naue and Curle, her secretaries, were read, and the whole ranged in the most specious order which the art of the lawyers could devise, and heightened by every colour their eloquence could add.

Mary listened to their harangues attentively, and without emotion. But at the mention of the earl of Arundel's name, who was then confined in the Tower, on suspicion of being accessary to the conspiracy, she broke out into this tender and generous exclamation: "Alas! how much has the noble house of Howard "suffered for my sake!"

When the queen's counſel had finiſhed, Mary ſtood up, and with great magnanimity, and equal preſence of mind, began her defence. She bewailed the unhappineſs of her own ſituation, that after a captivity of nineteen years, during which ſhe had ſuffered treatment no leſs cruel than unmerited, ſhe was at laſt loaded with an accuſation, which tended not only to rob her of her right of ſucceſſion, and to deprive her of life itſelf, but to tranſmit her name with infamy to future ages: That, without regarding the ſacred rights of ſovereignty, ſhe was now ſubjected to laws framed againſt private perſons; though an anointed queen, commanded to appear before the tribunal of ſubjects; and, like a common criminal, her honour expoſed to the petulant tongues of lawyers, capable of wreſting her words, and of miſrepreſenting her actions: that, even in this diſhonourable ſituation, ſhe was denied the privileges uſually granted to criminals, and obliged to undertake her own defence, without the preſence of any friend with whom to adviſe, without the aid of counſel, and without the uſe of her own papers.

She then proceeded to the particular articles in the accuſation. She abſolutely denied any correſpondence with Babington or Ballard: copies only of her pretended letters to them were produced; though nothing leſs than her handwriting or ſubſcription was ſufficient to convict her of ſuch an odious crime: no proof could be brought that the letters were delivered into her hands or that any anſwer was returned by her direction; the confeſſions of wretches condemned and executed for ſuch a deteſtable action, were of little weight; fear or hope might extort from them many things inconſiſtent with truth; nor ought the honour of a queen to be ſtained by ſuch vile teſtimony. The declaration of her ſecretaries was not more concluſive: promiſes and threats might eaſily overcome the reſolution of two ſtrangers; in order to ſcreen themſelves, they might throw the blame on her; but they could diſcover nothing to her prejudice, without violating, in the firſt place, the oath of fidelity; and their perjury, in one inſtance, rendered

them unworthy of credit in another: the letters to the Spaniſh ambaſſador were either nothing more than copies, or contained only what was perfectly innocent: "I have often," continued ſhe, "made ſuch efforts "for the recovery of my liberty, as are natural to a "human creature. Convinced, by the ſad experience "of ſo many years, that it was vain to expect it from "the juſtice or generoſity of the queen of England, I "have frequently ſolicited foreign princes, and called "upon all my friends to employ their whole intereſt "for my relief. I have likewiſe endeavoured to pro-"cure for the Engliſh catholics ſome mitigation of the "rigour with which they are now treated; and if I "could hope, by my death, to deliver them from op-"preſſion, I am willing to die for their ſake. I wiſh, "however, to imitate the example of Eſther, not of "Judith, and would rather make interceſſion for my "people, than ſhed the blood of the meaneſt creature, "in order to ſave them. I have often checked the "intemperate zeal of my adherents, when either the "ſeverity of their own perſecutions, or indignation at "the unheard-of injuries which I have endured, were "apt to precipitate them into violent councils. I have "even warned the queen of dangers to which theſe "harſh proceedings expoſed herſelf. And worn out, "as I now am, with cares and ſufferings, the proſpect "of a crown is not ſo inviting, that I ſhould ruin my "ſoul in order to obtain it. I am no ſtranger to the "feelings of humanity, nor unacquainted with the "duties of religion, and abhor the deteſtable crime "of aſſaſſination, as equally repugnant to both. And, "if ever I have given conſent by my words, or even "by my thoughts, to any attempt againſt the life of "the queen of England, far from declining the judg-"ment of men, I ſhall not even pray for the mercy of "God*."

Two different days did Mary appear before the judges, and in every part of her behaviour maintained the

* Camb. 520, &c.

magnanimity of a queen, tempered with the gentleneſs and modeſty of a woman.

The commiſſioners, by Elizabeth's expreſs command, adjourned, without pronouncing any ſentence, to the Star-Chamber in Weſtminſter. When aſſembled in that place, Naué and Curle were brought into court, and confirmed their declaration upon oath; and after reviewing all their former proceedings, the commiſſioners unanimouſly declared Mary "To be acceſ-" ſary to Babington's conſpiracy, and to have imagined " diverſe matters tending to the hurt, death, and de-" ſtruction of Elizabeth, contrary to the expreſs words " of the ſtatute made for the ſecurity of the queen's " life †."

It is no eaſy matter to determine whether the injuſtice in appointing this trial, or the irregularity in conducting it, were greateſt and moſt flagrant. By what right did Elizabeth claim authority over an independent queen? Was Mary bound to comply with the laws of a foreign kingdom? How could the ſubjects of another prince become her judges? or if ſuch an inſult on royalty were allowed, ought not the common forms of juſtice to have been obſerved? If the teſtimony of Babington and his aſſociates were ſo explicit, why did not Elizabeth ſpare them for a few weeks, and by confronting them with Mary, overwhelm her with the full conviction of her crimes? Naué and Curle were both alive, wherefore did they not appear at Fotheringay? and for what reaſon were they produced in the Star-Chamber, where Mary was not preſent to hear what they depoſed? Was this ſuſpicious evidence enough to condemn a queen? Ought the meaneſt criminal to have been found guilty upon ſuch feeble and inconcluſive proofs?

It was not, however, on the evidence produced at her trial, that the ſentence againſt Mary was founded. That ſerved as a pretence to juſtify, but was not the

† Camb. 525.

cauſe of the violent ſteps taken by Elizabeth and her miniſters towards her deſtruction; and was employed to give ſome appearance of juſtice to what was the offſpring of jealouſy and fear. The nation, blinded with reſentment againſt Mary, and ſolicitous to ſecure the life of its own ſovereign from every danger, obſerved no irregularities in the proceedings, and attended to no defects in the proof, but graſped at the ſuſpicions and probabilities, as if they had been irrefragable demonſtrations.

The parliament met a few days after ſentence was pronounced againſt Mary. In that illuſtrious aſſembly more temper and diſcernment than are to be found among the people, might have been expected. Both lords and commons, however, were equally under the dominion of popular prejudices and paſſions, and the ſame exceſſes of zeal, or of fear, which prevailed in the nation, are apparent in all their proceedings. They entered with impatience upon an inquiry into the conſpiracy, and the danger which threatened the queen's life as well as the peace of the kingdom. All the papers which had been produced at Fotheringay, were laid before them; and after many violent invectives againſt the queen of Scots, both houſes unanimouſly ratified the proceedings of the commiſſioners by whom ſhe had been tried, and declared the ſentence againſt her to be juſt and well founded. Not ſatisfied with this, they preſented a joint addreſs to the queen, beſeeching her, as ſhe regarded her own ſafety, the preſervation of the proteſtant religion, the welfare and wiſhes of her people, to publiſh the ſentence; and without farther delay to inflict on a rival, no leſs irreclaimable than dangerous, the puniſhment which ſhe had merited by ſo many crimes. This requeſt, dictated by fears unworthy of that great aſſembly, was enforced by reaſons ſtill more unworthy. They were drawn not from juſtice but from conveniency. The moſt rigorous confinement, it was pretended, could not curb Mary's intriguing ſpirit; her addreſs was found, by long experience, to be an overmatch for the vigilance and jealouſy of all her keepers: the ſevereſt penal laws

could not reſtrain her adherents, who, while they believed her perſon to be ſacred, would deſpiſe any danger to which themſelves alone were expoſed: ſeveral foreign princes were ready to ſecond their attempts, and waited only a proper opportunity for invading the kingdom, and aſſerting the Scottiſh queen's title to the crown. Her life, for theſe reaſons, was incompatible with Elizabeth's ſafety; and if ſhe were ſpared out of a falſe clemency, the queen's perſon, the religion and liberties of the kingdom, could not be one moment ſecure. Neceſſity required that ſhe ſhould be ſacrificed in order to preſerve theſe; and to prove this ſacrifice to be no leſs juſt than neceſſary, ſeveral examples in hiſtory were produced, and many texts of ſcripture quoted; but both the one and the other were miſapplied, and diſtorted from their true meaning.

Nothing, however, could be more acceptable to Elizabeth, than an addreſs in this ſtrain. It extricated her out of a ſituation extremely embarraſſing; and without depriving her of the power of ſparing, it enabled her to puniſh her rival with leſs appearance of blame. If ſhe choſe the former, the whole honour would redound to her own clemency. If ſhe determined on the latter, whatever was rigorous might now ſeem to be extorted by the ſolicitations of her people, rather than to flow from her own inclination. Her anſwer, however, was in a ſtyle which ſhe often uſed, ambiguous and evaſive, under the appearance of openneſs and candour; full of ſuch profeſſions of regard for her people, as ſerved to heighten their loyalty; of ſuch complaints of Mary's ingratitude, as were calculated to excite their indignation; and of ſuch inſinuations that her own life was in danger, as could not fail to keep alive their fears. In the end ſhe beſought them to ſave her the infamy and the pain of delivering up a queen, her neareſt kinſwoman, to puniſhment; and to conſider whether it might not ſtill be poſſible to provide for the public ſecurity, without forcing her to imbrue her hands in royal blood.

The true meaning of this reply was eaſily underſtood.

The lords and commons renewed their former requeſt with additional importunity, which was far from being either unexpected or offenſive. Elizabeth did not return any anſwer more explicit; and having obtained ſuch a public ſanction of her proceedings, there was no longer any reaſon for protracting this ſcene of diſſimulation; there was even ſome danger that her feigned difficulties might at laſt be treated as real ones; ſhe therefore adjourned the parliament, and reſerved in her own hands the ſole diſpoſal of her rival's fate *.

All the princes in Europe obſerved the proceedings againſt Mary with aſtoniſhment and horror; and even Henry III. notwithſtanding his known averſion to the houſe of Guiſe, was obliged to interpoſe in her behalf, and to appear in defence of the common rights of royalty. Aubeſpine his reſident ambaſſador, and Bellievre, who was ſent with an extraordinary commiſſion to the ſame purpoſe, interceded for Mary with great appearance of warmth. They employed all the arguments which the cauſe naturally ſuggeſted; they pleaded from juſtice, from generoſity, and humanity; they intermingled reproaches and threats. But to all theſe Elizabeth continued deaf and inexorable, and having received ſome intimation of Henry's real unconcern about the fate of the Scottiſh queen, and knowing his antipathy to all the race of Guiſe, that ſhe truſted theſe loud remonſtrances would be followed by no violent reſentment †.

She paid no greater regard to the ſolicitations of the Scottiſh king, which, as they were urged with more ſincerity, merited more attention. Though her commiſſioners had been extremely careful to ſoothe James, by publiſhing a declaration that their ſentence againſt Mary did, in no degree, derogate from his honour, or invalidate any title which he formerly poſſeſſed; he beheld the indignities to which his mother had been expoſed with filial concern, and with the ſentiments which became a king. The pride of the Scottiſh nation was rouſed, by the inſult offered to the blood of

* Camd. 526. D'Ewes, 375. † Camd. 531.

their monarchs, and called upon him to employ the moſt vigorous efforts, in order to prevent or to revenge the queen's death.

At firſt, he could ſcarce believe that Elizabeth would venture upon an action ſo unprecedented, which tended ſo viſibly to render the perſons of princes leſs ſacred in the eyes of the people, and which degraded the regal dignity, of which, at other times, ſhe was ſo remarkably jealous. But as ſoon as the extraordinary ſteps which ſhe took diſcovered her intention, he deſpatched ſir William Keith to London; who, together with Douglas his ambaſſador in ordinary, remonſtrated, in the ſtrongeſt terms, againſt the injury done to an independent queen, in ſubjecting her to be tried like a private perſon, and by laws to which ſhe owed no obedience; and beſought Elizabeth not to add to this injury, by ſuffering a ſentence unjuſt in itſelf, as well as diſhonourable to the king of Scots, to be put into execution *.

Elizabeth returning no anſwer to theſe remonſtrances of his ambaſſador, James wrote to her with his own hand, complaining in the bittereſt terms of her conduct, not without threats that both his duty and his honour would oblige him to renounce her friendſhip, and to act as became a ſon when called to revenge his mother's wrongs†. At the ſame time he aſſembled the nobles, who promiſed to ſtand by him in ſo good a cauſe. He appointed ambaſſadors to France, Spain, and Denmark, in order to implore the aid of theſe courts; and took other ſteps towards executing his threats with vigour. The high ſtrain of his letter enraged Elizabeth to ſuch a degree, that ſhe was ready to diſmiſs his ambaſſadors without any reply. But his preparations alarmed and embarraſſed her miniſters, and at their entreaty ſhe returned a ſoft and evaſive anſwer, promiſing to liſten to any overture from the king, that tended to his mother's ſafety; and to ſuſpend

* See Append. No. XVI. Murdin, 573, &c. Birch. Mem. i. 52. † Ibid.

the execution of the ſentence, until the arrival of new ambaſſadors from Scotland †.

Mean while ſhe commanded the ſentence againſt Mary to be publiſhed, and forgot not to inform the people, that this was extorted from her by the repeated entreaties of both houſes of parliament. At the ſame time ſhe deſpatched Lord Buckhurſt and Beale to acquaint Mary with the ſentence, and how importunately the nation demanded the execution of it; and though ſhe had not hitherto yielded to theſe ſolicitations, ſhe adviſed her to prepare for an event which might become neceſſary for ſecuring the proteſtant religion, as well as quieting the minds of the people. Mary received the meſſage not only without ſymptoms of fear, but with expreſſions of triumph. "No wonder," ſaid ſhe, "the Engliſh ſhould now thirſt for the blood of a "foreign prince, they have often offered violence to "their own monarchs. But after ſo many ſufferings, "death comes to me as a welcome deliverer. I am "proud to think that my life is eſteemed of import-"ance to the catholic religion, and as a martyr for it "I am now willing to die ‡."

After the publication of the ſentence Mary was ſtripped of every remaining mark of royalty. The canopy of ſtate in her apartment was pulled down; Paulet entered her chamber, and approached her perſon without any ceremony; and even appeared covered in her preſence. Shocked with theſe indignities, and offended at this groſs familiarity, to which ſhe had never been accuſtomed, Mary once more complained to Elizabeth; and at the ſame time, as her laſt requeſt, entreated that ſhe would permit her ſervants to carry her dead body into France, to be laid among her anceſtors in hallowed ground; that ſome of her domeſtics might be preſent at her death, to bear witneſs of her innocence, and firm adherence to the catholic faith; that all her ſervants might be ſuffered to leave the kingdom, and to enjoy thoſe ſmall legacies which ſhe ſhould beſtow on them, as teſtimonies of

† Spotſw. 251. Cald. iv. 5. ‡ Camd. 528. Jebb, 291.

her affection; and that, in the mean time, her almoner, or ſome other catholic prieſt, might be allowed to attend her, and to aſſiſt her in preparing for an eternal world. She beſought her, in the name of Jeſus, by the ſoul and memory of Henry VII. their common progenitor, by their near conſanguinity, and the royal dignity with which they were both inveſted, to gratify her in theſe particulars, and to indulge her ſo far as to ſignify her compliance by a letter under her own hand. Whether Mary's letter was ever delivered to Elizabeth is uncertain. No anſwer was returned, and no regard paid to her requeſts. She was offered a proteſtant biſhop or dean to attend her. Them ſhe rejected, and without any clergyman to direct her devotions, ſhe prepared, in great tranquillity, for the approach of death, which ſhe now believed to be at no great diſtance*.

James, without loſing a moment, ſent new ambaſſadors to London. Theſe were the maſter of Gray, and ſir Robert Melvil In order to remove Elizabeth's fears, they offered that their maſter would become bound that no conſpiracy ſhould be undertaken againſt her perſon, or the peace of the kingdom, with Mary's conſent; and for the faithful performance of this, would deliver ſome of the moſt conſiderable of the Scottiſh nobles as hoſtages. If this were not thought ſufficient, they propoſed that Mary ſhould reſign all her rights and pretenſions to her ſon, from whom nothing injurious to the proteſtant religion, or inconſiſtent with Elizabeth's ſafety, could be feared. The former propoſal Elizabeth rejected as inſecure; the latter, as dangerous. The ambaſſadors were then inſtructed to talk in a higher tone; and Melvil executed the commiſſion with fidelity and with zeal. But Gray, with his uſual perfidy, deceived his maſter, who truſted him with a negotiation of ſo much importance, and betrayed the queen whom he was employed to ſave. He encouraged and urged Elizabeth to execute the ſentence againſt her rival. He often repeated the old proverbi-

* Camd. 528. Jebb. ii. 295.

al ſentence, "The dead cannot bite." And whatever ſhould happen, he undertook to pacify the king's rage, or at leaſt to prevent any violent effects of his reſentment.¶.

Elizabeth, mean while, diſcovered all the ſymptoms of the moſt violent agitation and diſquietude of mind. She ſhunned ſociety, ſhe was often found in a melancholy and muſing poſture, and repeated with much emphaſis theſe ſentences which ſhe borrowed from ſome of the devices then in vogue; *Aut fer aut feri; ne feriare, feri.* Much, no doubt, of this apparent uneaſineſs muſt be imputed to diſſimulation; it was impoſſible, however, that a princeſs, naturally ſo cautious as Elizabeth, ſhould venture on an action, which might expoſe her memory to infamy, and her life and kingdom to danger, without reflecting deeply, and heſitating long. The people waited her determination in ſuſpenſe and anxiety; and leaſt their fear or their zeal ſhould ſubſide, rumours of danger were artfully invented, and propagated with the utmoſt induſtry. Aubeſpine, the French ambaſſador, was accuſed of having ſuborned an aſſaſſin to murder the queen. The Spaniſh fleet was ſaid by ſome to be already arrived at Milford-haven. Others affirmed that the duke of Guiſe had landed with a ſtrong army in Suſſex. Now, it was reported that the northern counties were up in arms; next day, that the Scots had entered England with all their forces; and a conſpiracy, it was whiſpered, was on foot for ſeizing the queen and burning the city. The panic grew every day more violent; and the people, aſtoniſhed and enraged, called for the execution of the ſentence againſt Mary, as the only thing which could reſtore tranquillity to the kingdom ‡.

While theſe ſentiments prevailed among her ſubjects, Elizabeth thought ſhe might ſafely venture to ſtrike the blow, which ſhe had ſo long meditated. She commanded Daviſon, one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, to bring to her the fatal warrant, and her behaviour on that occaſion plainly ſhewed, that it is not to humanity that

¶ See Append. No. XVII. ‡ Camd. 533, 534.

we muſt aſcribe her forbearance hitherto. At the very moment ſhe was ſubſcribing the writ which gave up a woman, a queen, and her own neareſt relation into the hands of the executioner, ſhe was capable of jeſting, "Go," ſays ſhe to Daviſon, "and tell Walſingham "what I have now done, though I am afraid he will "die for grief when he hears it." Her chief anxiety was how to ſecure the advantages which would ariſe from Mary's death, without appearing to have given her conſent to a deed ſo infamous. She often hinted to Paulet and Drury, as well as to ſome other courtiers, that now was the time to diſcover the ſincerity of their concern for her ſafety; and that ſhe expected their zeal would extricate her out of her preſent perplexity. But they were wiſe enough to ſeem not to underſtand her meaning. Even after the warrant was ſigned, ſhe commanded a letter to be written to Paulet, in leſs ambiguous terms, complaining of his remiſſneſs in ſparing ſo long the life of her capital enemy, and begging him to remember at laſt what was incumbent on him as an affectionate ſubject, and to deliver his ſovereign from continual fear and danger, by ſhortening the days of his priſoner. Paulet, though rigorous and harſh, and often brutal in the diſcharge of what he thought his duty, as Mary's keeper, was nevertheleſs a man of honour and integrity. He rejected the propoſal with diſdain; and lamenting that he ſhould ever have been deemed capable of acting the part of an aſſaſſin, he declared that the queen might diſpoſe of his life at her pleaſure, but that he would never ſtain his own honour, nor leave an everlaſting mark of infamy on his poſterity, by lending his hand to perpetrate ſo foul a crime. On the receipt of this anſwer, Elizabeth became extremely peeviſh, and calling him a *dainty* and *preciſe fellow*, who would promiſe much, but perform nothing, ſhe propoſed to employ one Wingfield, who had both courage and inclination to ſtrike the blow ‖. But Daviſon remonſtrating againſt this method as no leſs dangerous than diſhonourable, ſhe

‖ Biogr. Britan. article Daviſon.

again declared her intention that the ſentence pronounced by the commiſſioners ſhould be executed according to law; and as ſhe had already ſigned the warrant, ſhe begged that no farther application might be made to her on that head. By this the privy-counſellors thought themſelves ſufficiently authoriſed to proceed; and prompted, as they pretended, by zeal for the queen's ſafety, or inſtigated, as is more probable, by the apprehenſion of the danger to which they would themſelves be expoſed, if the life of the queen of Scots were ſpared, they aſſembled in the council chamber; and by a letter under all their hands, empowered the earls of Shrewſbury and Kent, together with the high ſheriff of the county, to ſee the ſentence put in execution §.

On Tueſday the 7th of February, 1587, the two earls arrived at Fotheringay, and demanded acceſs to the queen, read in her preſence the warrant for execution, and required her to prepare to die next morning. Mary heard them to the end without emotion, and croſſing herſelf in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, "That ſoul," ſaid ſhe, "is not "worthy of the joys of heaven, which repines becauſe "the body muſt endure the ſtroke of the executioner: "and though I did not expect that the queen of Eng- "land would ſet the firſt example of violating the "ſacred perſon of a ſovereign prince, I willingly ſub- "mit to that which Providence has decreed to be my "lot," and laying her hand on a Bible, which happened to be near her, ſhe ſolemnly proteſted that ſhe was innocent of that conſpiracy which Babington had carried on againſt Elizabeth's life †. She then mentioned the requeſts contained in her letter to Elizabeth, but obtained no ſatisfactory anſwer. She entreated with particular earneſtneſs, that now in her laſt moments her almoner might be ſuffered to attend her, and that ſhe might enjoy the conſolation of thoſe pious inſtitutions prescribed by her religion. Even this favour, which is uſually granted to the vileſt criminal, was abſolutely denied.

§ Camd. 534. Strype, iii. 361, 364. † Jebb. ii. 36[illegible]

Her attendants, during this converſation, were bathed in tears, and though overawed by the preſence of the two earls with difficulty ſuppreſſed their anguiſh; but no ſooner did Kent and Shrewſbury withdraw, than they ran to their miſtreſs, and burſt out into the moſt paſſionate expreſſions of tenderneſs and ſorrow. Mary, however, not only retained perfect compoſure of mind, but endeavoured to moderate their exceſſive grief; and falling on her knees, with all her domeſtics around her, ſhe thanked Heaven that her ſufferings were now ſo near an end, and prayed that ſhe might be enabled to endure what ſtill remained with decency and with fortitude. The greater part of the evening ſhe employed in ſettling her worldly affairs. She wrote her teſtament with her own hand. Her money, her jewels, and her clothes, ſhe diſtributed among her ſervants, according to their rank or merit. She wrote a ſhort letter to the king of France, and another to the duke of Guiſe, full of tender but magnanimous ſentiments, and recommended her ſoul to their prayers, and her afflicted ſervants to their protection. At ſupper ſhe ate temperately, as uſual, and converſed not only with eaſe, but with cheerfulneſs; ſhe drank to every one of her ſervants, and aſked their forgiveneſs, if ever ſhe had failed in any part of her duty towards them. At her wonted time ſhe went to bed, and ſlept calmly a few hours. Early in the morning ſhe retired into her cloſet, and employed a conſiderable time in devotion. At eight o'clock the high ſheriff and officers entered her chamber, and found her ſtill kneeling at the altar. She immediately ſtarted up, and with a majeſtic mien, and a countenance undiſmayed, and even cheerful, advanced towards the place of execution, leaning on two of Paulet's attendants. She was dreſſed in a mourning habit, but with an elegance and ſplendour which ſhe had long laid aſide, except on a few feſtival days. An *Agnus Dei* hung by a pomander chain at her neck; her beads at her girdle; and in her hand ſhe carried a crucifix of ivory. At the foot of the ſtairs the two earls, attended by ſeveral gentlemen from the neighbouring

counties, received her; and there ſir Andrew Melvil, the maſter of her houſhold, who had been ſecluded for ſome weeks from her preſence, was permitted to take his laſt farewel. At the ſight of a miſtreſs whom he tenderly loved, in ſuch a ſituation, he melted into tears; and as he was bewailing her condition, and complaining of his own hard fate, in being appointed to carry the account of ſuch a mournful event into Scotland, Mary replied, "Weep not, good Melvil, there is at preſent "great cauſe for rejoicing. Thou ſhalt this day ſee "Mary Stewart delivered from all her cares, and ſuch "an end put to her tedious ſufferings, as ſhe has long "expected. Bear witneſs that I die conſtant in my re- "ligion; firm in my fidelity towards Scotland; and un- "changed in my affection to France. Commend me to "my ſon. Tell him I have done nothing injurious to "his kingdom, to his honour or to his rights; and God "forgive all thoſe who have thirſted without cauſe for "my blood."

With much difficulty, and after many entreaties, ſhe prevailed on the two earls to allow Melvil, together with three of her men ſervants and two of her maids, to attend her to the ſcaffold. It was erected in the ſame hall where ſhe had been tried, raiſed a little above the floor, and covered, as well as a chair, the cuſhion, and block, with black cloth. Mary mounted the ſteps with alacrity, beheld all this apparatus of death with an unaltered countenance, and ſigning herſelf with the croſs, ſhe ſat down in the chair. Beale read the warrant for execution with a loud voice, to which ſhe liſtened with a careleſs air, and like one occupied in other thoughts. Then the dean of Peterborough began a devout diſcourſe, ſuitable to her preſent condition, and offered up prayers to Heaven in her behalf; but ſhe declared that ſhe could not in conſcience hearken to the one, nor join with the other; and falling on her knees, repeated a Latin prayer. When the dean had finiſhed his devotions, ſhe, with an audible voice, and in the Engliſh tongue, recommended unto God the afflicted ſtate of the church, and prayed for proſperity to her ſon, and for a long life and peaceable reign to Elizabeth. She

declared that she hoped for mercy only through the death of Christ, at the foot of whose image she now willingly shed her blood; and lifting up and kissing the crucifix, she thus addressed it: "As thy arms, O Jesus, were ex-"tended on the cross; so with the outstretched arms of "thy mercy receive me, and forgive my sins."

She then prepared for the block, by taking off her veil and upper garments; and one of the executioners rudely endeavouring to assist, she gently checked him, and said with a smile, that she had not been accustomed to undress before so many spectators, nor to be served by such valets. With calm but undaunted fortitude, she laid her neck on the block; and while one executioner held her hands, the other, at the second stroke, cut off her head, which falling out of its attire, discovered her hair already grown quite grey with cares and sorrows. The executioner held it up still streaming with blood, and the dean crying out, "So perish all queen "Elizabeth's enemies," the earl of Kent alone answered Amen. The rest of the spectators continued silent, and drowned in tears; being incapable, at that moment, of any other sentiments but those of pity or admiration*.

Such was the tragical death of Mary queen of Scots, after a life of forty-four years and two months, almost nineteen years of which she passed in captivity. The political parties which were formed in the kingdom during her reign have subsisted, under various denominations, ever since that time. The rancour with which they were at first animated, hath descended to succeeding ages, and their prejudices as well as their rage, have been perpetuated, and even augmented. Among historians, who were under the dominion of all those passions, and who have either ascribed to her every virtuous and amiable quality, or have imputed to her all the vices of which the human heart is susceptible, we search in vain for Mary's real character. She neither merited the ex-

* Camd. 534. Spotsw. 355. Jebb, ii. 300. Strype, iii. 383. See Appendix, No. XVIII.

aggerated praiſes of the one, nor the undiſtinguiſhing cenſure of the other.

To all the charms of beauty, and the utmoſt elegance of external form, ſhe added thoſe accompliſhments which render their impreſſion irreſiſtable. Polite, affable, inſinuating, ſprightly, and capable of ſpeaking and of writing with equal eaſe and dignity. Sudden, however, and violent in all her attachments; becauſe her heart was warm and unſuſpicious. Impatient of contradiction; becauſe ſhe had been accuſtomed from her infancy to be treated as a queen. No ſtranger, on ſome occaſions, to diſſimulation; which, in that perfidious court where ſhe received her education, was reckoned among the neceſſary arts of government. Not inſenſible of flattery, or unconſcious of that pleaſure with which almoſt every woman beholds the influence of her own beauty. Formed with the qualities which we love, not with the talents that we admire; ſhe was an agreeable woman, rather than an illuſtrious queen. The vivacity of her ſpirit not ſufficiently tempered with ſound judgment, and the warmth of her heart, which was not at all times under the reſtraint of diſcretion, betrayed her both into errors and into crimes. To ſay that ſhe was always unfortunate, will not account for that long and almoſt uninterrupted ſucceſſion of calamities which befel her; we muſt likewiſe add, that ſhe was often imprudent. Her paſſion for Darnly was raſh, youthful, and exceſſive; and though the ſudden tranſition to the oppoſite extreme, was the natural effect of her ill-requited love, and of his ingratitude, inſolence, and brutality; yet neither theſe, nor Bothwell's artful addreſs and important ſervices can juſtify her attachment to that nobleman. Even the manners of the age, licentious as they were, are no apology for this unhappy paſſion; nor can they induce us to look on that tragical and infamous ſcene which followed upon it, with leſs abhorrence. Humanity will draw a veil over this part of her character which it cannot approve, and may, perhaps, prompt ſome to impute ſome of her actions to her ſituation, more than to her diſpoſitions; and to lament the unhappineſs of the former, rather than accuſe the perverſeneſs of the latter. Mary's

ſufferings exceed, both in degree and in duration thoſe tragical diſtreſſes which fancy has feigned to excite ſorrow and commiſeration; and while we ſurvey them, we are apt altogether to forget her frailties, we think of her faults with leſs indignation, and approve of our tears, as if they were ſhed for a perſon who had attained much nearer to pure virtue.

With regard to the queen's perſon, a circumſtance not to be omitted in writing the hiſtory of a female reign, all contemporary authors agree in aſcribing to Mary the utmoſt beauty of countenance, and elegance of ſhape, of which the human form is capable. Her hair was black, though according to the faſhion of that age, ſhe frequently wore borrowed locks, and of different colours. Her eyes were a dark grey; her complexion was exquiſitely fine; and her hands and arms remarkably delicate, both as to ſhape and colour. Her ſtature was of an height that roſe to the majeſtic. She danced, ſhe walked, and rode with equal grace. Her taſte for muſic was juſt, and ſhe both ſung and played upon the lute with uncommon ſkill. Towards the end of her life ſhe began to grow fat, and her long confinement, and the coldneſs of the houſes in which ſhe was impriſoned, brought on a rheumatiſm, which often deprived her of the uſe of her limbs. No man, ſays Brantome, ever beheld her perſon without admiration and love, or will read her hiſtory without ſorrow.

None of her women were ſuffered to come near her dead body, which was carried into a room adjoining to the place of execution, where it lay for ſome days, covered with a coarſe cloth torn from a biliard table. The block, the ſcaffold, the aprons of the executioners, and every thing ſtained with her blood, were reduced to aſhes. Not long after, Elizabeth appointed her body to be buried in the cathedral of Peterborough with royal magnificence. But this vulgar artifice was employed in vain; the pageantry of a pompous funeral did not efface the memory of thoſe injuries which laid Mary in her grave. James, ſoon after his acceſſion to the Engliſh throne, ordered her body to be removed to Weſt-

minſter-abbey, and to be depoſited among the monarchs of England.

Elizabeth affected to receive the accounts of Mary's death with the moſt violent emotions of ſurpriſe and of concern. Sighs, tears, lamentations and mourning, were all employed to diſplay the reality and greatneſs of her ſorrow. Evident marks of diſſimulation and artifice may be traced through every period of Elizabeth's proceedings againſt the life of the Scottiſh queen. The commiſſion for bringing Mary to a public trial was ſeemingly extorted from her by the intreaties of her privy-counſellors. She delayed publiſhing the ſentence againſt her till ſhe was twice ſolicited by both houſes of parliament. Nor did ſhe ſign the warrant for execution without the utmoſt apparent reluctance. One ſcene more of the boldeſt and moſt ſolemn deceit remained to be exhibited. She undertook to make the world believe that Mary had been put to death without her knowledge and againſt her will. And Daviſon, who neither ſuſpected her intention nor his own danger, was her inſtrument in carrying on this artifice, and fell a victim to it.

It was his duty, as ſecretary of ſtate, to lay before her the warrant for execution, in order to be ſigned; and by her command, he carried it to the great ſeal. She pretended, however that ſhe had charged him not to communicate what ſhe had done to any perſon, nor to ſuffer the warrant to go out of his hands, without her expreſs permiſſion; that, in contempt of this order, he had not only revealed the matter to ſeveral of her miniſters, but had, in concert with them, aſſembled her privy-counſellors, by whom, without her conſent or knowledge, the warrant was iſſued, and the earls of Shrewſbury and Kent impowered to put it in execution. Though Daviſon denied all this, and with circumſtances which bear the ſtrongeſt marks of truth and credibility; though it can ſcarcely be conceived that her privy-council, compoſed of the perſons in whom ſhe moſt confided, of her miniſters and favourites, would aſſemble within the walls of her palace, and venture to tranſact a matter of ſo much importance without her privity; and contrary to

her inclination; yet ſo far did ſhe carry this diſſimulation, that with all the ſigns of diſpleaſure and of rage, ſhe baniſhed moſt of her counſellors out of her preſence; and treated Burleigh, in particular, ſo harſhly, and with ſuch marks of diſguſt, that he gave himſelf up for loſt, and in the deepeſt affliction wrote to the queen, begging leave to reſign all his places, that he might retire to his own eſtate. Daviſon ſhe inſtantly deprived of his office, and committed him a cloſe priſoner to the Tower. He was ſoon after brought to a ſolemn trial in the Star Chamber, condemned to pay a fine of ten thouſand pounds, and to be impriſoned during the queen's pleaſure. He languiſhed ſeveral years in confinement, and never recovered any degree of favour or of power. As her jealouſy and fear had bereaved the queen of Scots of life, in order to palliate this part of her conduct, Elizabeth made no ſcruple of ſacrificing the reputation and happineſs of one of the moſt virtuous and able men in her kingdom *.

This ſolemn farce, for it deſerves no better name, furniſhed Elizabeth, however, with an apology to the king of Scots. As the proſpect of his mother's danger had excited the king's filial care and concern, the account of her death filled him with grief and reſentment. His ſubjects felt the diſhonour done to him and to the nation. In order to ſoothe both, Elizabeth inſtantly deſpatched Robert Carey, one of lord Hunſdon's ſons, with a letter expreſſing her extreme affliction on account of that miſerable accident, which as ſhe pretended, had happened far contrary to her appointment or intention. James would not permit her meſſenger to enter Scotland; and with ſome difficulty received a memorial he ſent from Berwick. It contained the tale concerning Daviſon, dreſſed up with all the circumſtances which intended to exculpate Elizabeth, and to throw the whole blame on his raſhneſs or treachery. Such a defence gave little ſatisfaction, and was conſidered as mockery added to inſult; and many of the nobles, as well as the king,

* Camd. 536. Strype, iii. 370. See Append No. XIX. Cabala, 229, &c.

breathed nothing but revenge. Elizabeth was extremely ſolicitous to pacify them, and wanted neither inſtruments nor reaſons to gain her end. Leiceſter wrote to the king, and Walſingham to ſecretary Maitland. They repreſented the certain deſtruction to which James would expoſe himſelf, if, with the forces of Scotland alone, he ſhould venture to attack a kingdom ſo far ſuperior in power; that the hiſtory of paſt ages, as well as his mother's ſad experience, might convince him, that nothing could be more dangerous, or deceitful, than dependence on foreign aid; that the king of France would never wiſh to ſee the Britiſh dominions united under one monarch, nor contribute to inveſt a prince ſo nearly allied to the houſe of Guiſe with ſuch formidable power; that Philip might be a more active ally, but would certainly prove a more dangerous one, and, under pretence of aſſiſting him, would aſſert his own right to the Engliſh crown, which he already began openly to claim; that the ſame ſtatute, on which the ſentence of death againſt his mother had been founded, would juſtify the excluding him from the ſucceſſion to the crown; that the Engliſh, naturally averſe from the dominion of ſtrangers, would not fail, if exaſperated by his hoſtilities, to apply it in that manner; that Elizabeth was diſpoſed to repair the wrongs which the mother had ſuffered, by her tenderneſs and affection towards the ſon; and that, by engaging in a fruitleſs war, he would deprive himſelf of a noble inheritance, which, by cultivating her friendſhip, he muſt infallibly obtain. Theſe repreſentations, added to the conſciouſneſs of his own weakneſs, to the ſmallneſs of his revenues, to the mutinous ſpirit of ſome of the nobles, to the dubious fidelity of others, and to the influence of that faction which was entirely at Elizabeth's devotion, convinced James that a war with England, however juſt, would in the preſent juncture be altogether impolitical. All theſe conſiderations induced him to ſtifle his reſentment; to appear ſatisfied with the puniſhment inflicted on Daviſon; and to preſerve all the ſemblances of friendſhip with the Engliſh court ‖. In

‖ Spotſw. 362. Cald. iv. 13, 14. Strype, iii. 377.

this manner did the cloud which threatened ſuch a ſtorm paſs away. Mary's death, like that of a common criminal, remained unavenged by any prince; and whatever infamy Elizabeth might incur, ſhe was expoſed to no new danger on that account.

Mary's death, however, proved fatal to the maſter of Gray, and loſt him that favour which he had for ſome time poſſeſſed. He was become as odious to the nation as favourites, who acquire power without merit, and exerciſe it without diſcretion, uſually are. The treacherous part, which he had acted during his late embaſſy, was well known, and filled the king, who at length came to the knowledge of it, with ſurpriſe. The courtiers obſerved the ſymptoms of diſguſt ariſing in the king's mind, his enemies ſeized the opportunity, and ſir William Stewart, in revenge of the perfidy with which Gray had betrayed his brother captain James, publicly accuſed him before a convention of nobles, not only of having contributed, by his advice and ſuggeſtions, to take away the life of the queen, but of holding correſpondence with popiſh princes, in order to ſubvert the religion eſtabliſhed in the kingdom. Gray, unſupported by the king, deſerted by all, and conſcious of his own guilt, made a feeble defence. He was condemned to perpetual baniſhment, a puniſhment very unequal to his crimes. But the king was unwilling to abandon one whom he had once favoured ſo highly, to the rigour of juſtice, and lord Hamilton, his near relation, and the other nobles who had lately returned from exile, in gratitude for the zeal with which he had ſerved them, interceded warmly in his behalf.

Having thus accompliſhed the deſtruction of one of his enemies, captain James thought the juncture favourable for proſecuting his revenge on them all. He ſingled out ſecretary Maitland, the moſt eminent both for abilities and enmity to him; and offered to prove that he was no leſs acceſſary than Gray to the queen's death, and had even formed a deſign of delivering up the king himſelf into the hands of the Engliſh. But time and abſence had, in great meaſure, extinguiſhed the king's affection for a minion who ſo little deſerved it.

All the courtiers combined againſt him as a common enemy; and inſtead of gaining his point, he had the mortification to ſee the office of chancellor conferred upon Maitland, who, together with that dignity, enjoyed all the power and influence of a prime miniſter.

In the aſſembly of the church, which met this year, the ſame hatred to the order of biſhops, and the ſame jealouſy and fear of their encroachments, appeared. But as the king was now of full age, and a parliament was ſummoned on that occaſion, the clergy remained ſatisfied with appointing ſome of their number to repreſent their grievances to that court, from which great things were expected.

Previous to this meeting of parliament, James attempted a work worthy of a king. The deadly feuds which ſubſiſted between many of the great families, and which were tranſmitted from one generation to another, weakened the ſtrength of the kingdom; contributed, more than any other circumſtance, to preſerve a fierce and barbarous ſpirit among the nobles; and proved the occaſion of many diſaſters to themſelves and to their country. After many preparatory negotiations, he invited the contending parties to a royal entertainment in the palace of Holyrood-houſe; and partly by his authority, partly by his intreaties, obtained their promiſe to bury their diſſenſions in perpetual oblivion. From thence he conducted them, in ſolemn proceſſion, through the ſtreets of Edinburgh, marching by pairs, each hand in hand with his enemy. A collation of wine and ſweetmeats was prepared at the public croſs, and there they drank to each other, with all the ſigns of reciprocal forgiveneſs and of future friendſhip. The people, who were preſent at a ſpectacle ſo unuſual, conceived the moſt ſanguine hopes of ſeeing concord and tranquillity eſtabliſhed in every part of the kingdom, and teſtified their ſatisfaction by repeated acclamations. Unhappily, the effects of this reconciliation were not correſpondent either to the pious endeavours of the king, or the fond wiſhes of the people.

The firſt care of the parliament was the ſecurity of the proteſtant religion. All the laws paſſed in its fa-

vour, ſince the Reformation, were ratified; and a new and ſevere one was enacted againſt ſeminary prieſts and Jeſuits, whoſe reſtleſs induſtry in making proſelytes, brought many of them into Scotland about this time. Two acts of this parliament deſerve more particular notice on account of the conſequences with which they were followed.

The one reſpected the lands of the church. As the public revenues were not ſufficient for defraying the king's ordinary charges; as the adminiſtration of the government became more complicate and more expenſive; as James was naturally profuſe, and a ſtranger to economy; it was neceſſary, on all theſe accounts, to provide ſome fund proportioned to his exigencies. But no conſiderable ſum could be levied on the commons, who did not enjoy the benefit of an extenſive commerce. The nobles were unaccuſtomed to bear the burden of heavy taxes. The revenues of the church were the only ſource whence a proper ſupply could be drawn. Notwithſtanding all the depredations of the laity ſince the Reformation, and the various devices which they had employed to ſeize the church lands, ſome conſiderable portion of them remained ſtill unalienated, and were held either by the biſhops who poſſeſſed the benefices, or were granted to laymen during pleaſure. All theſe lands were, in this parliament, annexed, by one general law*, to the crown, and the king was empowered to apply the rents of them to his own uſe. The tithes alone were reſerved for the maintenance of the perſons who ſerved the cure, and the principal manſion-houſe, with a few acres of land, by way of glebe, alloted for their reſidence. By this great acceſſion of property, it is natural to conclude that the king muſt have acquired a vaſt increaſe of power, and the influence of the nobles have ſuffered a proportional diminution. The very reverſe of this ſeems, however, to have been the caſe. Almoſt all grants of church-lands, prior to this act, were thereby confirmed; and titles, which were formerly reckoned precarious,

* Parl. 11. Jac. VI. c. 29.

derived from thence the ſanction of parliamentary authority. James was likewiſe authoriſed, during a limited time, to make new alienations; and ſuch was the facility of his temper, ever ready to yield to the ſolicitations of his ſervants, and to gratify their moſt extravagant demands, that not only during the time limited, but throughout his whole reign, he was continually employed in beſtowing, and his parliament in ratifying, grants of that kind to his nobles; hence little advantage accrued to the crown from that which might have been ſo valuable an addition to its revenues. The biſhops, however, were great ſufferers by the law. But at this juncture neither the king nor his miniſters were ſolicitous about the intereſt of an order of men, odious to the people, and perſecuted by the clergy. Their enemies promoted the law with the utmoſt zeal. The proſpect of ſharing in their ſpoils induced all parties to conſent to it; and after a ſtep ſo fatal to the wealth and power of the dignified clergy, it was no difficult matter to introduce that change in the government of the church which ſoon after took place†.

The change which the other ſtatute produced in the civil conſtitution was no leſs remarkable. Under the feudal ſyſtem, every freeholder or vaſſal of the crown had a right to be preſent in parliament. Theſe freeholders were originally few in number, but poſſeſſed of great and extenſive property. By degrees theſe vaſt poſſeſſions were divided by the proprietors themſelves, or parcelled out by the prince, or ſplit by other accidents. The number of freeholders became greater, and their condition more unequal: beſides the ancient barons, who preſerved their eſtates and their power unimpaired, there aroſe another order, whoſe rights were the ſame, though their wealth and influence were far inferior. But, in thoſe rude ages, when the art of government was extremely imperfect, when parliaments were ſeldom aſſembled, and deliberated on matters little intereſting to a martial people, few of the *leſſer barons* took their ſeats, and the whole parliamentary juriſ-

† Spotſw. 365.

diction was exercised by the *greater barons*, together with the ecclesiastical order. James I. fond of imitating the forms of the English constitution, to which he had been long accustomed, and desirous of providing a counterpoise to the power of the great nobles, procured an act in the year one thousand four hundred and twenty-seven, dispensing with the personal attendance of the lesser barons, and empowering those in each county to choose two commissioners to represent them in parliament. This law, like many other regulations of that wise prince, produced little effect. All the king's vassals continued, as formerly, possessed of a right to be present in parliament; but, unless in some extraordinary conjunctures, none but the greater barons attended. But, by means of the Reformation, the constitution had undergone a great change. The aristocratical power of the nobles had been much increased, and the influence of the ecclesiastical order, which the crown usually employed to check their usurpations, and to balance their authority, had diminished in proportion. Many of the abbies and priories had been erected into temporal peerages; and the protestant bishops, an indigent race of men, and odious to the nation, were far from possessing the weight and credit which their predecessors derived from their exorbitant wealth, and the superstitious reverence of the people. In this situation, the king had recourse to the expedient employed by James I. and obtained a law reviving the statute of one thousand four hundred and twenty-seven; and from that time the commons of Scotland have sent their representatives to parliament. An act, which tended so visibly to abridge their authority, did not pass without opposition from many of the nobles. But as the king had a right to summon the lesser barons to attend in person, others were apprehensive of seeing the house filled with a multitude of his dependents, and consented the more willingly to a law which laid them under the restriction of appearing only by their representatives.

The year one thousand five hundred and eighty-

eight began with an univerſal expectation throughout all Europe, that it was to be diſtinguiſhed by wonderful events and revolutions. Several aſtrologers, according to the accounts of contemporary hiſtorians, had predicted this; and the ſituation of affairs in the two principal kingdoms of Europe was ſuch, that a ſagacious obſerver, without any ſupernatural intelligence, might have hazarded the prediction, and have foreſeen the approach of ſome grand criſis. In France, it was evident from the aſtoniſhing progreſs of the league, conducted by a leader whoſe ambition was reſtrained by no ſcruples, and whoſe genius had hitherto ſurmounted all difficulties; as well as from the timid, variable, and impolitic councils of Henry III. that either that monarch muſt ſubmit to abandon the throne, of which he was unworthy, or by ſome ſudden and daring blow cut off his formidable rival. Accordingly, in the beginning of the year, the duke of Guiſe drove his maſter out of his capital city, and forced him to conclude a peace, which left him only the ſhadow of royalty; and before the year expired, he himſelf fell a victim to Henry's fears, and to his own ſecurity. In Spain the operations were ſuch as promiſed ſomething ſtill more uncommon. During three years Philip had employed all the power of his European dominions, and exhauſted the treaſures of the Indies, in vaſt preparations for war. A fleet, the greateſt that ever had appeared in the ocean, was ready to ſail from Liſbon, and a numerous land army was aſſembled to embark on board of it. Its deſtination was ſtill unknown, though many circumſtances made it probable that the blow was aimed, in the firſt place, againſt England. Elizabeth had long given ſecret aid to the revolted provinces in the Low Countries, and now openly afforded them her protection. A numerous body of her troops was in their ſervice; the earl of Leiceſter commanded their armies; ſhe had great ſway in the civil government of the republic; and ſome of its moſt conſiderable towns were in her poſſeſſion. Her fleets had inſulted the coaſts of Spain, intercepted the galleons from the Weſt Indies, had threatened the colonies there. Roufed by ſo many

injuries, allured by views of ambition, and animated by a ſuperſtitious zeal for propagating the Romiſh religion, Philip reſolved not only to invade, but to conquer England, to which his deſcent from the houſe of Lancaſter, and the donation of pope Sixtus V. gave him in his own opinion a double title.

Elizabeth ſaw the danger approach, and prepared to encounter it. The meaſures for the defence of her kingdom were concerted and carried on with the wiſdom and vigour which diſtinguiſhed her reign. Her chief care was to ſecure the friendſhip of the king of Scots. She had treated the queen his mother with a rigour unknown among princes; ſhe had often uſed himſelf harſhly, and with contempt; and though he had hitherto prudently ſuppreſſed his reſentment of theſe injuries, ſhe did not believe it to be altogether extinguiſhed, and was afraid that, in her preſent ſituation, it might burſt out with a fatal violence. Philip, ſenſible how much an alliance with Scotland would facilitate his enterpriſe, courted James with the utmoſt aſſiduity. He excited him to revenge his mother's wrongs; he flattered him with the hopes of ſharing his conqueſts; and offered him in marriage his daughter the infanta Iſabella. At the ſame time, Scotland ſwarmed with prieſts, his emiſſaries, who ſeduced ſome of the nobles to popery, and corrupted others with bribes and promiſes. Huntly, Errol, Crawford, were the heads of a faction which openly eſpouſed the intereſt of Spain. Lord Maxwell, arriving from that court, began to aſſemble his followers, and to take arms, that he might be ready to join the Spaniards. In order to counterbalance all theſe, Elizabeth made the warmeſt profeſſions of friendſhip to the king; and Aſhby, her ambaſſador, entertained him with magnificent hopes and promiſes. He aſſured him, that his right of ſucceſſion to the crown ſhould be publicly acknowledged in England; that he ſhould be created a duke in that kingdom; that he ſhould be admitted to ſome ſhare in the government; and receive a conſiderable penſion annually. James, it is probable, was too well acquainted with Eli-

zabeth's arts, to rely entirely on these promises. But he understood his own interest in the present juncture, and pursued it with much steadiness. He rejected an alliance with Spain, as dangerous. He refused to admit into his presence an ambassador from the pope. He seized colonel Semple, an agent of the prince of Parma. He drove many of the trafficking priests out of the kingdom. He marched suddenly to Dumfries, dispersed Maxwell's followers, and took him prisoner. In a convention of the nobles, he declared his resolution to adhere inviolably to the league with England; and, without listening to the suggestions of revenge, determined to act in concert with Elizabeth, against the common enemy of the protestant faith. He put the kingdom in a posture of defence, and levied troops to obstruct the landing of the Spaniards. He offered to send an army to Elizabeth's assistance, and told her ambassador, that he expected no other favour from the king of Spain, but that which Polyphemus had promised to Ulysses, that when he had devoured all his companions, he would make him his last morsel *.

The zeal of the people, on this occasion, was not inferior to that of the king; and the extraordinary danger, with which they were threatened, suggested to them an extraordinary expedient for their security. A bond was framed for the maintenance of true religion, and the defence of the king's person and government, in opposition to all enemies, foreign and domestic. This contained a confession of the protestant faith, a particular renunciation of the errors of popery, and the most solemn promises, in the name, and through the strength of God, of adhering to each other in supporting the former, and in contending against the latter, to the utmost of their power †. The king, the nobles, the clergy, and the people, subscribed it with equal alacrity. Strange or uncommon as such a combination may now appear, many circumstances contributed at that time to recommend it, and to render

* Camd. 544. Johnst. 139. Spotsw. 369.
† Dunlop's Collect. of Confess. vol. ii. 108.

the idea familiar to the Scots. When roused by any extraordinary event, or alarmed by any public danger, the people of Israel were accustomed to bind themselves, by a solemn covenant, to adhere to that religion which the Almighty had established among them; this the Scots considered as a sacred precedent, which it became them to imitate. In that age, no considerable enterprise was undertaken in Scotland, without a bond of mutual defence, which all concerned reckoned necessary for their security. The form of this religious confederacy is plainly borrowed from those political ones, of which so many instances have occurred; the articles, stipulations, and peculiar modes of expression, are exactly the same in both. Almost all the considerable popish princes were then joined in a league for extirpating the reformed religion, and nothing could be more natural, or seemed more efficacious, than to enter into a counter association, in order to oppose the progress of that formidable conspiracy. To these causes did the *Covenant*, which has become so famous in history, owe its origin. It was renewed at different times during the reign of James‡. It was revived with great solemnity, in the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-eight. It was adopted by the English in the year one thousand six hundred and forty-three, and enforced by the civil and ecclesiastical authority of both kingdoms. The political purposes to which it was then made subservient, and the violent and unconstitutional measures which it was then employed to promote, it is not our province to explain. But at the juncture in which it was first introduced, we may pronounce it to have been a prudent and laudable device for the defence of the religion and liberties of the nation; nor were the terms in which it was conceived, other than might have been expected from men alarmed with the impending danger of popery, and threatened with an invasion by the most bigotted and most powerful prince in Europe.

‡ Cald. iv. 129.

Philip's eagerneſs to conquer England did not inſpire him either with the vigour or deſpatch neceſſary to enſure the ſucceſs of ſo mighty an enterpriſe. His fleet, which ought to have ſailed in April, did not enter the Engliſh channel till the middle of July. It hovered many days on the coaſt, in expectation of being joined by the prince of Parma, who was blocked up in the ports of Flanders by a Dutch ſquadron. Continual diſaſters purſued the Spaniards during that time; ſucceſſive ſtorms and battles, which are well known, conſpired with their own ill conduct to diſappoint their enterpriſe. And, by the bleſſing of Providence, which watched with remarkable care over the proteſtant religion and the liberties of Britain, the Engliſh valour ſcattered and deſtroyed the armada, on which they had arrogantly beſtowed the name of invincible. After being driven out of the Engliſh ſeas they were forced to ſteer their courſe toward Spain, round Scotland and Ireland. Many of them ſuffered ſhipwreck on theſe dangerous and unknown coaſts. Though James kept his ſubjects under arms, to watch the motions of the Spaniards, and to prevent their landing in an hoſtile manner, he received ſeven hundred who were forced aſhore by a tempeſt, and after ſupplying them with neceſſaries, permitted them to return into their own country.

On the retreat of the Spaniards, Elizabeth ſent an ambaſſador to congratulate with James, and to compliment him on the firmneſs and generoſity he had diſcovered during a conjuncture ſo dangerous. But none of Aſhby's promiſes were any longer remembered; that miniſter was even accuſed of having exceeded his powers, by theſe too liberal offers; and conſcious of his own falſehood, or aſhamed of being diſowned by his court, he withdrew ſecretly out of Scotland*.

Philip, convinced by fatal experience of his own raſhneſs in attempting the conqueſt of England, by a naval armament, equipped at ſo great a diſtance,

* Johnſt. 134. Camd. 548.

and ſubjected, in all its operations, to the delays, and dangers, and uncertainties, ariſing from ſeas and winds, reſolved to make his attack in another form, and to adopt the plan which the princes of Lorrain had long meditated, of invading England through Scotland. A body of his troops, he imagined, might be eaſily wafted over from the Low Countries to that kingdom, and if they could once obtain footing, or procure aſſiſtance there, the frontier of England was open and defenceleſs, and the northern counties full of Roman catholics, who would receive them with open arms. Mean while, a deſcent might be threatened on the ſouthern coaſt, which would divide the Engliſh army, diſtract their councils, and throw the whole kingdom into terrible convulſions. In order to prepare the way for the execution of this deſign, he remitted a conſiderable ſum of money to Bruce, a ſeminary prieſt in Scotland, and employed him, together with Hay, Creighton, and Tyrie, Scottiſh jeſuits, to gain over as many perſons of diſtinction as poſſible to his intereſt. Zeal for popery, and the artful inſinuations of theſe emiſſaries, induced ſeveral of the nobles to favour a meaſure which tended ſo manifeſtly to the deſtruction of their country. Huntly, though the king had lately married him to the daughter of his favourite, the duke of Lennox, continued warmly attached to the Romiſh church. Crawford and Errol were animated with the zeal of new converts. They all engaged in a correſpondence with the prince of Parma, and, in their letters to him, offered their ſervice to the king of Spain, and undertook, with the aid of 6000 men, to render him maſter of Scotland, and to bring ſo many of their vaſſals into the field, that he ſhould be able to enter England with a numerous army. Francis Stewart, grandſon of James V. whom the king had created earl of Bothwell, tho' influenced by no motive of religion, for he ſtill adhered to the proteſtant faith, was prompted merely by caprice, and the reſtleſſneſs of his nature, to join in this treaſonable correſpondence.

All theſe letters were intercepted in England. Elizabeth, alarmed at the danger which threatened her

own kingdom, ſent them immediately to the king, and, reproaching him with his former lenity towards the popiſh party, called upon him to check this formidable conſpiracy by a proper ſeverity. But James, though firmly attached to the proteſtant religion, though profoundly verſed in the theological controverſies between the reformers and the church of Rome, though he had employed himſelf at that early period of life, in writing a commentary on the Revelation, in which he proved the pope to be antichriſt, had nevertheleſs adopted already thoſe maxims concerning the treatment of the Roman catholics, to which he adhered through the reſt of his life. The Roman catholics were at that time a powerful and active party in England; they were far from being an inconſiderable faction in his own kingdom. The pope and king of Spain were ready to take part in all their machinations, and to ſecond every effort of their bigotry. The oppoſition of ſuch a body to his ſucceſſion to the crown of England, added to the averſeneſs of the Engliſh from the government of ſtrangers, might create him many difficulties. In order to avoid theſe, he thought it neceſſary to ſoothe rather than to irritate the Roman catholics, and to reconcile them to his ſucceſſion, by the hopes of gentler treatment, and ſome mitigation of the rigour of thoſe laws, which were now in force againſt them. This attempt to gain one party by promiſes of indulgence and acts of clemency, while he adhered with all the obſtinacy of a diſputant to the doctrines and tenets of the other, has given an air of myſtery, and even of contradiction, to this part of the king's character. The papiſts, with the credulity of a ſect ſtruggling to obtain power, believed his heart to be wholly theirs; and the proteſtants, with the jealouſy inſeparable from thoſe who are already in poſſeſſion, viewed every act of lenity as a mark of indifference, or a ſymptom of apoſtacy. And in order to pleaſe both, James often aimed at an exceſſive refinement, mingled with diſſimulation, in which he imagined the perfection of government and of kingcraft to conſiſt.

His behaviour on this occaſion was agreeable to theſe

general maxims. Notwithſtanding the ſolicitations of the queen of England, enforced by the jealous remonſtrances of his own clergy, a ſhort impriſonment was the only puniſhment he inflicted on Huntly and his aſſociates. But he ſoon had reaſon to repent an act of clemency ſo inconſiſtent with the dignity of government. The firſt uſe which the conſpirators made of their liberty, was to aſſemble their followers, and, under pretence of removing chancellor Maitland, an able miniſter, but warmly devoted to the Engliſh intereſt, from the king's councils and preſence, they attempted to ſeize James himſelf. This attempt being defeated, partly by Maitland's vigilance, and partly by their own ill conduct, they were forced to retire to the north, where they openly erected the ſtandard of rebellion. But as the king's government was not generally unpopular, or his miniſters odious, their own vaſſals joined them ſlowly, and diſcovered no zeal in the cauſe. The king, in perſon, advancing againſt them with ſuch forces as he could ſuddenly levy, they durſt not rely ſo much on the fidelity of their troops, which, though ſuperior in number, followed them with reluctance, as to hazard a battle; but ſuffering them to diſperſe, they ſurrendered to the king, and threw themſelves on his mercy. Huntly, Errol, Crawford, and Bothwell, were all brought to a public trial. Repeated acts of treaſon were eaſily proved againſt them. The king, however, did not permit any ſentence to be pronounced; and, after keeping them a few months in confinement, he took occaſion, amidſt the public feſtivity and rejoicings at the approach of his marriage, to ſet them at liberty *.

As James was the only deſcendent of the ancient monarchs of Scotland in the direct line; as all hopes of uniting the crowns of the two kingdoms would have expired with him; as the earl of Arran, the preſumptive heir to the throne, was lunatic; the king's marriage was, on all theſe accounts, an event which the nation deſired with the utmoſt ardour. He himſelf

* Spotſw. 373. Cald. iv. 103—130.

was no leſs deſirous of accompliſhing it; and had made overtures for that purpoſe to the eldeſt daughter of Frederick II. king of Denmark. But Elizabeth, jealous of every thing that would render the acceſſion of the houſe of Stewart more acceptable to the Engliſh, endeavoured to perplex James in the ſame manner ſhe had done Mary; and employed as many artifices to defeat or to retard his marriage. His miniſters, gained by bribes and promiſes, ſeconded her intentions; and though ſeveral different ambaſſadors were ſent from Scotland to Denmark, they produced powers ſo limited, or inſiſted on conditions ſo extravagant, that Frederick could not believe the king to be in earneſt; and ſuſpecting that there was ſome deſign to deceive or amuſe him, gave his daughter in marriage to the duke of Brunſwick. Not diſcouraged by this diſappointment, which he imputed entirely to the conduct of his own miniſters, James made his addreſſes to the princeſs Anne, Frederick's ſecond daughter. And though Elizabeth endeavoured to divert him from this, by recommending Catharine, the king of Navarre's ſiſter, as a more advantageous match; though ſhe prevailed on the privy-council of Scotland to declare againſt the alliance with Denmark, he perſiſted in his choice; and deſpairing of overcoming the obſtinacy of his own miniſters in any other manner, he ſecretly encouraged the citizens of Edinburgh to take arms. They threatened to tear in pieces the chancellor, whom they accuſed as the perſon whoſe artifices had hitherto diſappointed the wiſhes of the king, and the expectations of his people. In conſequence of this, the earl Mariſhal was ſent into Denmark at the head of a ſplendid embaſſy. He received ample powers and inſtructions, drawn with the king's own hand. The marriage articles were quickly agreed upon, and the young queen ſet ſail towards Scotland. James made great preparations for her reception, and waited her landing with all the impatience of a lover; when the unwelcome account arrived, that a violent tempeſt had ariſen, which drove back her fleet to Norway, in a condition ſo ſhattered, that there was little hope of its putting again to ſea before the ſpring.

This unexpected diſappointment he felt with the utmoſt ſenſibility. He inſtantly fitted out ſome ſhips, and without communicating his intention to any of his council, ſailed in perſon, attended by the chancellor, ſeveral noblemen, and a train of three hundred perſons, in queſt of his bride. He arrived ſafely in a ſmall harbour not far diſtant from Upſlo, where the queen then reſided. There the marriage was ſolemnized; and as it would have been raſh to truſt thoſe boiſterous ſeas in the winter ſeaſon, James accepted the invitation of the court of Denmark, and repairing to Copenhagen, paſſed ſeveral months there, amidſt continual feaſting and amuſements, in which both the queen and himſelf had great delight.*.

No event in the king's life appears to be a wider deviation from his general character, than this ſudden ſally. His ſon Charles I. was capable of that exceſſive admiration of the other ſex, which ariſes from great ſenſibility of heart, heightened by elegance of taſte; and the romantic air of his journey to Spain ſuited ſuch a diſpoſition. But James was not ſuſceptible of any refined gallantry, and always expreſſed that contempt for the female character, which a pedantic erudition, unacquainted with politeneſs, is apt to inſpire. He was fretted, however, at the many obſtacles which had been laid in his way. He was anxious to ſecure the political advantages which he expected from marriage; and fearing that a delay might afford Elizabeth and his own miniſters an opportunity of thwarting him by new intrigues, he ſuddenly took the reſolution of preventing them, by a voyage from which he expected to return in a few weeks. The nation ſeemed to applaud his conduct, and to be pleaſed with this appearance of amorous ardour in a young prince. Notwithſtanding his abſence ſo long beyond the time he expected, the nobles, the clergy, and the people, vied with one another in loyalty and obedience and no period in the king's reign was more remarkable for tranquillity, or more free from any eruption of thoſe factions which ſo often diſturbed the kingdom.

* Melvil, 352. Spotſw. 377. Murdin, 637.

THE

HISTORY

OF

SCOTLAND.

BOOK EIGHTH.

CONTENTS.

The King and Queen arrive in Scotland. Diſorders in the kingdom. An attempt of Bothwell's againſt the King. Preſbyterian Church Government eſtabliſhed. Conſpiracy of the Popiſh Lords. The people's zeal, and the King's proceedings. Bothwell ſurpriſes the King. He recovers his liberty. Suſpected of favouring the Popiſh Lords. His lenity. A new attempt of Bothwell's. Freſh dangers from the Popiſh Lords. Battle of Glenlivat. Popiſh Lords driven out of the kingdom. Bothwell flies to Spain. Change in adminiſtration. Violence of the nation againſt the Popiſh Lords. Raſh proceedings of the Clergy. Of Black's ſeditious doctrine. Eſpouſed by the Clergy. Tumult in Edinburgh. The King's danger. His proceedings againſt the Citizens. Power of the Church humbled. Citizens privileges abridged. Regulations in the Church. Popiſh Lords pardoned. Eccleſiaſtics reſtored to Parliament. James gains a party in England. Accuſed of correſponding with the Pope. Endeavours to gain the Roman Catholics. Gowrie's conſpiracy. Sprot's diſcovery. Conjectures concerning the Conſpirators. The king's account diſbelieved. Proceedings of the Parliament. Eſſex's conſpiracy againſt Elizabeth. His correſpondence with James. Cautious conduct of James. Wild attempt of Eſſex. His death. James continues his intrigues. Attempts to civilize the Highlanders. Elizabeth's illneſs and death. Her character. James proclaimed King of England. Takes poſſeſſion of the throne. View of the Revolutions in Scotland, ſince the acceſſion of James VI.

ON the firſt of May 1590, the king and queen arrived at Leith, and were received by their ſubjects with every

poſſible expreſſion of joy. The ſolemnity of the queen's coronation was conducted with great magnificence; but ſo low had the order of biſhops fallen in the opinion of the public, that none of them were preſent on that occaſion, and Mr. Robert Bruce, a preſbyterian miniſter of great reputation, ſet the crown on her head, adminiſtered the ſacred unction, and performed the other cuſtomary ceremonies.

The zeal and ſucceſs with which many of the clergy had contributed towards preſerving peace and order in the kingdom, during his abſence, reconciled James, in a great degree, to their perſons, and even to the preſbyterian form of government. In preſence of an aſſembly, which met this year, he made high encomiums on the diſcipline as well as the doctrine of the church, promiſed to adhere inviolably to both, and permitted the aſſembly to frame ſuch acts as gradually aboliſhed all the remains of epiſcopal juriſdiction, and paved the way for a full and legal eſtabliſhment of the preſbyterian model†.

An event happened ſoon after, which afforded the clergy no ſmall triumph. Archbiſhop Adamſon, their ancient enemy, having fallen under the king's diſpleaſure, having been deprived of the revenues of his ſee in conſequence of the act of annexation, and being oppreſſed with age, with poverty, and diſeaſe, made the meaneſt ſubmiſſion to the clergy, and delivered to the aſſembly a formal recantation of all his opinions concerning church government, which had been matter of offence. Such a confeſſion, from the moſt learned perſon of the order, was conſidered as a teſtimony which the force of truth had extorted from an adverſary*.

Mean while, the king's exceſſive clemency towards offenders multiplied crimes of all kinds, and encouraged ſuch acts of violence, as brought his government under contempt, and proved fatal to many of his ſubjects. The hiſtory of ſeveral years, about this time, is filled with accounts of the deadly quarrels between the great

† Cald. iv. 204. * Spotſw. 385. Cald. iv. 214.

families, and of murders and aſſaſſinations perpetrated in the moſt audacious manner, and with circumſtances of the utmoſt barbarity. All the defects in the feudal ariſtocracy were now felt more ſenſibly than at any other period in the hiſtory of Scotland, and univerſal licence and anarchy prevailed to a degree ſcarce conſiſtent with the preſervation of ſociety: while the king, too gentle to puniſh, or too feeble to act with vigour, ſuffered all theſe enormities to paſs with impunity.

But though James connived at real crimes, witchcraft, which is commonly an imaginary one, engroſſed his attention, and thoſe ſuſpected of it felt the whole weight of his authority. Many perſons, neither extremely old nor wretchedly poor, which were uſually held to be certain indications of this crime, but maſters of families, and matrons of a decent rank, and in the middle age of life, were ſeized and tortured; and though their confeſſions contained the moſt abſurd and incredible circumſtances, the king's prejudices, thoſe of the clergy and of the people, conſpired in believing their extravagancies without heſitation, and in puniſhing their perſons without mercy. Some of theſe unhappy ſufferers accuſed Bothwell of having conſulted them, in order to know the time of the king's death, and of having employed their art, to raiſe the ſtorms which had endangered the queen's life, and had detained James ſo long in Denmark. Upon this evidence that nobleman was committed to priſon. His turbulent and haughty ſpirit could neither ſubmit to the reſtraint, nor brook ſuch an indignity. Having gained his keepers, he made his eſcape, and imputing the accuſation to the artifices of his enemy, the chancellor, aſſembled his followers, under pretence of driving him from the king's councils. Being favoured by ſome of the king's attendants, he was admitted by a ſecret paſſage under cloud of night into the court of the palace of Holyrood-houſe. He advanced directly towards the royal apartment, but happily before he entered, the alarm was taken, and the doors ſhut. While he attempted to burſt open ſome of them, and to ſet fire to others, the citizens of Edinburgh had time to run to their arms, and he eſcaped with the utmoſt difficulty; owing

his ſafety to the darkneſs of the night, and the precipitancy with which he fled ‡.

He retired towards the north, and the king having unadviſedly given a commiſſion to the earl of Huntly to purſue him and his followers with fire and ſword, he, under colour of executing that commiſſion, gratified his private revenge, and ſurrounded the houſe of the earl of Murray, burnt it to the ground, and ſlew Murray himſelf. The murder of a young nobleman of ſuch promiſing virtues, and the heir of the regent Murray, the darling of the people, excited univerſal indignation. The citizens of Edinburgh roſe in a tumultuous manner; and though they were reſtrained, by the care of the magiſtrates, from any act of violence, they threw aſide all reſpect for the king and his miniſters, and openly inſulted and threatened both. While this mutinous ſpirit continued, James thought it prudent to withdraw from the city, and fixed his reſidence for ſome time at Glaſgow. There Huntly ſurrendered himſelf to juſtice; and, notwithſtanding the atrociouſneſs of his crime, and the clamours of the people, the power of the chancellor, with whom he was now cloſely confederated, and the king's regard for the memory of the duke of Lennox, whoſe daughter he had married, not only protected him from the ſentence which ſuch an odious action merited, but exempted him even from the formality of a public trial †.

A ſtep of much importance was taken ſoon after with regard to the government of the church. The clergy had long complained of the encroachments made upon their privileges and juriſdiction by the acts of the parliament one thouſand five hundred and eighty-four, and though theſe laws had now loſt much of their force, they reſolved to petition the parliament, which was approaching, to repeal them in form. The juncture for puſhing ſuch a meaſure was well choſen. The king had loſt much of the public favour, by his lenity towards the popiſh faction, and ſtill more by his re-

‡ Melv. 388. Spotſw. 386. † Spotſw. 587.

miſſneſs in purſuing the murderers of the earl of Murray. The chancellor had not only a powerful party of the courtiers combined againſt him, but was become odious to the people, who imputed to him every falſe ſtep in the king's conduct. Bothwell ſtill lurked in the kingdom, and being ſecretly ſupported by all the enemies of Maitland's adminiſtration, was ready every moment to renew his audacious enterpriſes. James, for all theſe reaſons, was extremely willing to indulge the clergy in their requeſt, and not only conſented to a law, whereby the acts of one thouſand five hundred and eighty-four were reſcinded or explained, but he carried his complaiſance ſtill further, and permitted the parliament to eſtabliſh the preſbyterian government, its general aſſemblies, provincial ſynods, preſbyteries, and kirk ſeſſions, with all the different branches of their diſcipline and juriſdiction, in the moſt ample manner. All the zeal and authority of the clergy, even under the adminiſtration of regents, from whom they might have expected the moſt partial favour, could not obtain the ſanction of law, in confirmation of their mode of eccleſiaſtical government. No prince was ever leſs diſpoſed than James to approve a ſyſtem, whoſe republican genius inſpired a paſſion for liberty, ſo repugnant to his exalted notions of royal prerogative. Nor could any averſion be more inveterate than his, to the auſtere and uncomplying character of the preſbyterian clergy in that age; who, more eminent for zeal than for policy, often contradicted his opinions, and cenſured his conduct, with a freedom equally offenſive to his dogmatiſm as a theologian, and to his pride as a king. His ſituation, however, obliged him frequently to conceal, or to diſſemble, his ſentiments; and as he often diſguſted his ſubjects, by indulging the popiſh faction more than they approved, he endeavoured to atone for this by conceſſions to the preſbyterian clergy, more liberal than he himſelf would otherwiſe have choſen *.

In this parliament, Bothwell and all his adherents were attainted. But he ſoon made a new attempt to

* Cald. iv. 248, 252. Spotſw. 388.

ſeize the king at Falkland; and James, betrayed by ſome of his courtiers, and feebly defended by others, who wiſhed well to Bothwell, as the chancellor's avowed enemy, owed his ſafety to the fidelity and vigilance of ſir Robert Melvil, and to the irreſolution of Bothwell's aſſociates †.

This danger was ſcarce well over, when the nation was alarmed with the diſcovery of a new and more formidable conſpiracy. George Ker, the lord Newbattle's brother, being ſeized as he was ready to ſet ſail for Spain, many ſuſpicious papers were found in his cuſtody, and among theſe, ſeveral blanks ſigned by the earls of Angus, Huntly, and Errol. By this extraordinary precaution they hoped to eſcape any danger of diſcovery. But Ker's reſolution ſhrinking when torture was threatened, he confeſſed that he was employed by theſe noblemen to carry on a negotiation with the king of Spain; that the blanks ſubſcribed with their names were to be filled up by Crichton and Tyrie; that they were inſtructed to offer the faithful ſervice of the three earls to that monarch; and to ſolicit him to land a body of his troops, either in Galloway, or at the mouth of the Clyde, with which they undertook, in the firſt place, to eſtabliſh the Roman catholic religion in Scotland, and then to invade England with the whole forces of the kingdom. David Graham of Fintry, and Barclay of Ladyland, whom he accuſed of being privy to the conſpiracy, were taken into cuſtody, and confirmed all the circumſtances of his confeſſion *.

The nation having been for ſome time in continual terror and agitation by ſo many ſucceſſive conſpiracies, the diſcovery of this new danger completed the panic. All ranks of men, as if the enemy had already been at their gates, thought themſelves called upon to ſtand forth in defence of their country. The miniſters of Edinburgh without waiting for any warrant from the king, who happened at that time, to be abſent from the capital, and without having received any legal com-

† Melv. 402. * Rymer, xvi. 190.

miſſion, aſſembled a conſiderable number of peers and barons, in order to provide an inſtant remedy againſt the impending danger. They ſeized the earl of Angus, and committed him to the caſtle; they examined Ker; and prepared a remonſtrance to be laid before the king, concerning the ſtate of the nation, and the neceſſity of proſecuting the conſpirators with becoming vigour. James though jealous of every encroachment on his prerogative, and offended with ſubjects who, inſtead of petitioning, ſeemed to preſcribe to him, found it neceſſary, during the violence of the ferment, not only to adopt their plan, but even to declare that no conſideration ſhould ever induce him to pardon thoſe who had been guilty of ſo odious a treaſon. He ſummoned the earls of Huntly and Errol to ſurrender themſelves to juſtice. Graham of Fintry, whom his peers pronounced to be guilty of treaſon, he commanded to be publicly beheaded; and marching into the north at the head of an army, the two earls, together with Angus, who had eſcaped out of priſon, retired to the mountains. He placed garriſons in the caſtles which belonged to them; compelled their vaſſals, and the barons in the adjacent countries, to ſubſcribe a bond containing profeſſions of their loyalty towards him, and of their firm adherence to the proteſtant faith; and the better to ſecure the tranquillity of that part of the kingdom, conſtituted the earls of Athol and Mariſhal his lieutenants there†.

Having finiſhed this expedition, James returned to Edinburgh, where he found lord Borough, an extraordinary ambaſſador from the court of England. Elizabeth, alarmed at the diſcovery of a conſpiracy which ſhe conſidered as no leſs formidable to her own kingdom than to Scotland, reproached James with his former remiſſneſs, and urged him as he regarded the preſervation of the proteſtant religion, or the dignity of his own crown, to puniſh this repeated treaſon with rigour; and if he could not apprehend the perſons, at leaſt to confiſcate the eſtates, of ſuch audacious rebels.

† Spotſw. 391. Cald. iv. 291.

She weakened, however, the force of these requests, by interceding at the same time in behalf of Bothwell, whom, according to her usual policy in nourishing a factious spirit among the Scottish nobles, she had taken under her protection. James absolutely refused to listen to any intercession in favour of one who had so often, and with so much outrage, insulted both his government and his person. With regard to the popish conspirators, he declared his resolution to prosecute them with vigour; but that he might be the better able to do so, he demanded a small sum of money from Elizabeth, which she, distrustful perhaps of the manner in which he might apply it, shewed no inclination to grant. The zeal, however, and importunity of his own subjects obliged him to call a parliament, in order to pass an act of attainder against the three earls. But before it met, Ker made his escape out of prison, and, on pretence that legal evidence of their guilt, could not be produced, nothing was concluded against them. The king himself was universally suspected of having contrived this artifice, on purpose to elude the requests of the queen of England, and to disappoint the wishes of his own people; and, therefore, in order to soothe the clergy, who exclaimed loudly against his conduct, he gave way to the passing of an act, which ordained those who obstinately condemned the censures of the church to be declared outlaws *.

While the terror excited by the popish conspiracy possessed the nation, the court had been divided by two rival factions, which contended for the chief direction of affairs. At the head of one was the chancellor, in whom the king reposed entire confidence. For that very reason, perhaps, he had fallen early under the queen's displeasure. The duke of Lennox, the earl of Athol, lord Ochiltree, and all the name of Stewart, espoused her quarrel, and widened the breach. James, fond no less of domestic tranquillity than of public peace, advised his favourite to retire, for some time, in hopes that the queen's resentment would subside. But

* Cald. iv. 343. Spotsw. 393. Parl. 15. Jac. VI. c. 164.

as he ſtood in need, in the preſent juncture, of the aſſiſtance of an able miniſter, he had recalled him to court. In order to prevent him from recovering his former power, the Stewarts had recourſe to an expedient no leſs illegal than deſperate. Having combined with Bothwell, who was of the ſame ſurname, they brought him back ſecretly into Scotland; and ſeizing the gates of the palace, introduced him into the royal apartment with a numerous train of armed followers. James, though deſerted by all his courtiers, and incapable of reſiſtance, diſcovered more indignation than fear, and reproaching them for their treachery, called on the earl to finiſh his treaſons, by piercing his ſovereign to the heart. But Bothwell fell on his knees, and implored pardon. The king was not in a condition to refuſe his demands. And a few days after, he ſigned a capitulation with this ſucceſsful traitor, to whom he was really a priſoner, whereby he bound himſelf to grant a remiſſion for all paſt offences, and to procure the ratification of it in parliament; and in the mean time to diſmiſs the chancellor, the maſter of Glamis, lord Home, and ſir George Home, from his councils and preſence. Bothwell, on his part, conſented to remove from court, though he left there as many of his aſſociates as he thought ſufficient to prevent the return of the adverſe faction.

But it was now no eaſy matter to keep the king under the ſame kind of bondage, to which he had been often ſubject during his minority. He diſcovered ſo much impatience to ſhake off his fetters, that thoſe who impoſed, durſt not continue the reſtraint. They permitted him to call a convention of the nobles at Stirling, and to repair thither himſelf. All Bothwell's enemies, and all who were deſirous of gaining the king's favour by appearing to be ſo, obeyed the ſummons. They pronounced the inſult offered to the king's perſon and authority to be high treaſon, and declared him abſolved from any obligation to obſerve conditions extorted by force, and which violated ſo eſſentially his royal prerogative. James, however, ſtill proffered him a pardon, provided he would ſue for it as an act of mercy, and

promiſe to retire out of the kingdom. Theſe conditions Bothwell rejected with diſdain, and betaking himſelf once more to arms, attempted to ſurpriſe the king; but finding him on his guard, fled to the borders.

The king's ardour againſt Bothwell, compared with his ſlow and evaſive proceedings againſt the popiſh lords, occaſioned a general diſguſt among his ſubjects; and was imputed either to an exceſſive attachment to the perſons of thoſe conſpirators, or to a ſecret partiality towards their opinions; both which gave riſe to no unreaſonable fears. The clergy, as the immediate guardians of the proteſtant religion, thought themſelves bound, in ſuch a juncture, to take extraordinary ſteps for its preſervation. And the provincial ſynod of Fife happening to meet at that time, a motion was made to excommunicate all concerned in the late conſpiracy, as obſtinate and irreclaimable papiſts; and though none of the conſpirators reſided within the bounds of the ſynod, or were ſubject to its juriſdiction, ſuch was the zeal of the members, that, overlooking this irregularity, they pronounced the ſentence of excommunication, to which the act of laſt parliament added new terrors. Leſt this ſhould be imputed to a few men, and accounted the act of a ſmall part of the church, deputies were appointed to attend the adjacent ſynods, and to deſire their approbation and concurrence.

An event happened a few weeks after which increaſed the people's ſuſpicions of the king. As he was marching on an expedition againſt the borderers, the three popiſh earls coming ſuddenly into his preſence, offered to ſubmit themſelves to a legal trial; and James, without committing them to cuſtody, appointed a day for that purpoſe. The conſpirators prepared to appear with a formidable train of their friends and vaſſals. But in the mean time the clergy, together with many peers and barons, aſſembling at Edinburgh, remonſtrated againſt the king's extreme indulgence with great boldneſs, and demanded of him, according to the regular courſe of juſtice, to commit to ſure cuſtody perſons charged with the higheſt acts of treaſon, who could not be brought to a legal trial, until they were

abſolved from the cenſures of the church; and to call a convention of eſtates, to deliberate concerning the method of proceeding againſt them. At the ſame time they offered to accompany him in arms to the place of trial, leſt ſuch audacious and powerful criminals ſhould overawe juſtice, and dictate to the judges to whom they pretended to ſubmit. James, though extremely offended, both with the irregularity of their proceedings, and the preſumption of their demands, found it expedient to put off the day of trial, and to call a convention of eſtates, in order to quiet the fears and jealouſies of the people. By being humoured in this point, their ſuſpicions began gradually to abate, and the chancellor managed the convention ſo artfully, that he himſelf, together with a few other members, was impowered to pronounce a final ſentence upon the conſpirators. After much deliberation they ordained, that the three earls and their aſſociates ſhould be exempted from all further inquiry or proſecution, on account of their correſpondence with Spain; that, before the firſt day of February, they ſhould either ſubmit to the church, and publicly renounce the errors of popery, or remove out of the kingdom; that, before the firſt of January, they ſhould declare which of theſe alternatives they would embrace; that they ſhould find ſurety for their peaceable demeanour for the future; and that if they failed to ſignify their choice in due time, they ſhould loſe the benefit of this act of *abolition*, and remain expoſed to all the pains of law.

By this lenity towards the conſpirators, James incurred much reproach, and gained no advantage. Devoted to the popiſh ſuperſtition, ſubmiſſive to all the dictates of their prieſts, and buoyed up with hopes and promiſes of foreign aid, the three earls refuſed to accept of the conditions, and continued their treaſonable correſpondence with the court of Spain. A convention of eſtates pronounced them to have forfeited the benefit of the articles which were offered; and the king required them, by proclamation, to ſurrender themſelves to juſtice. The preſence of the Engliſh ambaſſador contributed, perhaps, to the vigour of theſe

proceedings. Elizabeth, ever attentive to James's motions, and imputing his reluctance to puniſh the popiſh lords to a ſecret approbation of their deſigns, had ſent lord Zouche to repreſent, once more, the danger to which he expoſed himſelf, by this falſe moderation; and to require him to exerciſe that rigour which their crimes, as well as the poſture of affairs, rendered neceſſary. And though the ſteps now taken by the king ſilenced all complaints on that head, yet Zouche, forgetful of his character as an ambaſſador, entered into private negotiations with ſuch of the Scottiſh nobles as diſapproved of the king's meaſures, and held almoſt an open correſpondence with Bothwell, who, according to the uſual artifice of malecontents, pretended much ſolicitude for reforming the diſorders of the commonwealth: and covered his own ambition with the ſpecious veil of zeal againſt thoſe counſellors who reſtrained the king from purſuing the avowed enemies of the proteſtant faith. Zouche encouraged him, in the name of his miſtreſs, to take arms againſt his ſovereign.

Mean while, the king and clergy were filled with mutual diſtruſt of each other. They were jealous, perhaps, to exceſs, that his affections leaned too much towards the popiſh faction; he ſuſpected them, without good reaſon, of prompting Bothwell to rebellion, and even of ſupplying him with money for that purpoſe. Little inſtigation, indeed, was wanting to rouſe ſuch a turbulent ſpirit as Bothwell's to any daring enterpriſe. He appeared ſuddenly within a mile of Edinburgh, at the head of four hundred horſe. The pretences, by which he endeavoured to juſtify this inſurrection, were extremely popular; zeal for religion, enmity to popery, concern for the king's honour, and for the liberties of the nation. James was totally unprovided for his own defence; he had no infantry, and was accompanied only with a few horſemen of lord Home's train. In this extremity, he implored the aid of the citizens of Edinburgh, and, in order to encourage them to act with zeal, he promiſed to proceed againſt the popiſh lords with the utmoſt rigour of law. Animated by their miniſters, they ran cheer-

fully to their arms, and advanced, with the king at their head, againſt Bothwell; but he, notwithſtanding his ſucceſs in putting to flight lord Home, who had raſhly charged him with a far inferior number of cavalry, retired to Dalkeith without daring to attack the king. His followers abandoned him ſoon after, and diſcouraged by ſo many ſucceſſive diſappointments, could never afterwards be brought to venture into the field. He betook himſelf to his uſual lurking-places in the north of England; but Elizabeth, in compliance with the king's remonſtrances obliged him to quit that retreat *.

No ſooner was the king delivered from one danger, than he was called to attend to another. The popiſh lords, in conſequence of their negotiations with Spain, received in the ſpring a ſupply of money from Philip. What bold deſigns this might inſpire, it was no eaſy matter to conjecture. From men under the dominion of bigotry, and whom indulgence could not reclaim, the moſt deſperate actions were to be dreaded. The aſſembly of the church immediately took the alarm; remonſtrated againſt them with more bitterneſs than ever; and unanimouſly ratified the ſentence of excommunication pronounced by the ſynod of Fife. James himſelf, provoked by their obſtinacy and ingratitude, and afraid that his long forbearance would not only be generally diſpleaſing to his own ſubjects, but give riſe to unfavourable ſuſpicions among the Engliſh, exerted himſelf with unuſual vigour. He called a parliament; laid before it all the circumſtances and aggravations of the conſpiracy; and though there were but few members preſent, and ſeveral of theſe connected with the conſpirators by blood or friendſhip, he prevailed on them, by his influence and importunity, to pronounce the moſt rigorous ſentence which the law can inflict. They were declared to be guilty of high treaſon, and their eſtates and honours forfeited. At the ſame time, ſtatutes, more ſevere than ever, were enacted againſt the profeſſors of the popiſh religion.

* Spotſw. 403. Cald. iv. 359.

How to put this ſentence in execution, was a matter of great difficulty. Three powerful barons, cantoned in a part of the country of difficult acceſs, ſurrounded with numerous vaſſals, and ſupported by aid from a foreign prince, were more than an overmatch for a Scottiſh monarch. No intreaty could prevail on Elizabeth to advance the money neceſſary for defraying the expences of an expedition againſt them. To attack them in perſon, with his own forces alone, might have expoſed James both to diſgrace and to danger. He had recourſe to the only expedient which remained in ſuch a ſituation, for aiding the impotence of ſovereign authority; he delegated his authority to the earl of Argyll and lord Forbes, the leaders of two clans at enmity with the conſpirators; and gave them a commiſſion to invade their lands, and to ſeize the caſtles which belonged to them. Bothwell, notwithſtanding all his high pretenſions of zeal for the proteſtant religion, having now entered into a cloſe confederacy with them, the danger became every day more urgent. Argyll, ſolicited by the king, and roufed by the clergy, took the field at the head of ſeven thouſand men. Huntly and Errol met him at Glenlivat, with an army far inferior in number, but compoſed chiefly of gentlemen of the low countries, mounted on horſeback, and who brought along with them a conſiderable train of field-pieces. They encountered each other with all the fury which hereditary enmity and ancient rivalſhip add to undiſciplined courage. But the Highlanders, diſconcerted by the firſt diſcharge of the cannon, to which they were little accuſtomed, and unable to reſiſt the impreſſion of cavalry, were ſoon put to flight; and Argyll, a gallant young man of eighteen, was carried by his friends out of the field, weeping with indignation at their diſgrace, and calling on them to ſtand, and to vindicate the honour of their name*.

On the firſt intelligence of this defeat, James, though obliged to pawn his jewels in order to raiſe money †,

* Cald. iv. 408. † Birch, Mem. i. 186.

aſſembled a ſmall body of troops, and marched towards the north. He was joined by the Irvines, Keiths, Leſlys, Forbeſes, and other clans at enmity with Huntly and Errol, who having loſt ſeveral of their principal followers at Glenlivat, and others refuſing to bear arms againſt the king in perſon, were obliged to retire to the mountains. James waſted their lands; put garriſons in ſome of their caſtles; burnt others, and left the duke of Lennox as his lieutenant in that part of the kingdom, with a body of men ſufficient to reſtrain them from gathering to any head there, or from infeſting the low country. Reduced at laſt to extreme diſtreſs, by the rigour of the ſeaſon, and the deſertion of their followers, they obtained the king's permiſſion to go beyond ſeas, and gave ſecurity that they ſhould neither return without his licence, nor engage in any new intrigues againſt the proteſtant religion, or the peace of the kingdom *.

By their exile, tranquillity was re-eſtabliſhed in the north of Scotland; and the firmneſs and vigour which James had diſplayed in his laſt proceedings againſt them, regained him, in a great degree, the confidence of his proteſtant ſubjects. But he ſunk, in the ſame proportion, and for the ſame reaſon, in the eſteem of the Roman catholics. They had aſſerted his mother's right to the crown of England with ſo much warmth, that they could not, with any decency, reject his; and the indulgence, with which he affected to treat the profeſſors of that religion, inſpired them with ſuch hopes, that they viewed his acceſſion to the throne as no undeſirable event. But the rigour with which the king had lately purſued the conſpirators, and the ſevere ſtatutes againſt popery, to which he had given his conſent, convinced them that theſe hopes were viſionary; and they began to look about in queſt of ſome new ſucceſſor, whoſe rights they might oppoſe to his. The Engliſh papiſts turned their eyes towards the earl of Eſſex, whoſe generous mind, though firmly eſtabliſhed in the proteſtant faith, abhorred the ſeverities inflicted in that

* Spotſw. 404. Cald. 373, &c.

age on account of religious opinions. Thoſe of the ſame ſect, who were in exile, formed a bolder ſcheme, and one more ſuitable to their ſituation. They advanced the claim of the infanta of Spain; and Parſons the jeſuit publiſhed a book, in which, by falſe quotations from hiſtory, by fabulous genealogies, and abſurd arguments, intermingled with bitter invectives againſt the king of Scots, he endeavoured to prove the infanta's title to the Engliſh crown to be preferable to his. Philip, though involved already in a war both with France and England, and ſcarce able to defend the remains of the Burgundian provinces againſt the Dutch commonwealth, eagerly graſped at this airy project. The dread of a Spaniſh pretender to the crown, and the oppoſition which the papiſts began to form againſt the king's ſucceſſion, contributed not a little to remove the prejudices of the proteſtants, and to prepare the way for that event.

Bothwell, whoſe name has been ſo often mentioned as the diſturber of the king's tranquillity, and of the peace of the kingdom, was now in a wretched condition. Abandoned by the queen of England, on account of his confederacy with the popiſh lords; excommunicated by the church for the ſame reaſon; and deſerted in his diſtreſs by his own followers; he was obliged to fly for ſafety to France, and thence to Spain and Italy, where, after renouncing the proteſtant faith, he led many years an obſcure and indigent life, remarkable only for a low and infamous debauchery. The king though extremely ready to ſacrifice the ſtrongeſt reſentment to the ſlighteſt acknowledgements, could never be ſoftened by his ſubmiſſion, nor be induced to liſten to any interceſſion in his behalf *.

This year the king loſt chancellor Maitland, an able miniſter, on whom he had long devolved the whole weight of public affairs. As James loved him while alive, he wrote, in honour of his memory, a copy of

* Winw. Mem. i. † Spotſw. 410.

verſes, which, when compared with the compoſitions of that age, are far from being inelegant.

Soon after his death, a conſiderable change was made in the adminiſtration. At that time, the annual charges of government far exceeded the king's revenues. The queen was fond of expenſive amuſements. James himſelf was a ſtranger to economy. It became neceſſary, for all theſe reaſons, to levy the public revenues with greater order and rigour, and to huſband them with more care. This important truſt was committed to eight gentlemen of the law‡, who, from their number were called *Octavians*. The powers veſted in them were ample, and almoſt unlimited. The king bound himſelf neither to add to their number, nor to ſupply any vacancy that might happen, without their conſent: and knowing the facility of his own temper, agreed that no alienation of his revenue, no grant of a penſion, or order on the treaſury, ſhould be held valid, unleſs it were ratified by the ſubſcription of five of the commiſſioners; all their acts and deciſions were declared to be of equal force with the ſentence of judges in civil courts; and in conſequence of them, and without any other warrant, any perſon might be arreſted, or their goods ſeized. Such extenſive juriſdiction, together with the abſolute diſpoſal of the public money, drew the whole executive part of the government into their hands. United among themſelves, they gradually undermined the reſt of the king's miniſters, and ſeized on every lucrative or honourable office. The ancient ſervants of the crown repined at being obliged to quit their ſtations to new men. The favourites and young courtiers murmured at ſeeing the king's liberality ſtinted by their preſcriptions. And the clergy exclaimed againſt ſome of them as known apoſtates to popery, and ſuſpected others of ſecretly

‡ Alexander Seaton preſident of the ſeſſion, Walter Stewart commendator of Blantyre lord privy ſeal, David Carnegy, John Linſday, James Elphingſton, Thomas Hamilton, John Skene clerk regiſter, and Peter Young elemoſynar.

favouring it. They retained their power, however, notwithſtanding this general combination againſt them; and they owed it entirely to the order and economy which they introduced into the adminiſtration of the finances, by which the neceſſary expences of government were more eaſily defrayed than in any other period of the king's reign *.

The rumour of vaſt preparations which Philip was ſaid to be carrying on at this time, filled both England and Scotland with the dread of a new invaſion. James took proper meaſures for the defence of his kingdom. But theſe did not ſatisfy the zeal of the clergy, whoſe ſuſpicions of the king's ſincerity began to revive; and as he had permitted the wives of the baniſhed peers to levy the rents of their eſtates, and to live in their houſes, they charged him with rendering the act of forfeiture ineffectual, by ſupporting the avowed enemies of the proteſtant faith. The aſſembly of the church took under conſideration the ſtate of the kingdom, and having appointed a day of public faſting, they ſolemnly renewed the covenant, by which the nation was bound to adhere to the proteſtant faith, and to defend it againſt all aggreſſors. A committee, conſiſting of the moſt eminent clergymen, and of many barons and gentlemen of diſtinction, waited on the king, and laid before him a plan for the ſecurity of the kingdom, and the preſervation of religion. They urged him to appropriate the eſtates of the baniſhed lords as a fund for the maintenance of ſoldiers; to take the ſtricteſt precautions for preventing the return of ſuch turbulent ſubjects into the country; and to purſue all who were ſuſpected of being their adherents with the utmoſt rigour.

Nothing could be more repugnant to the king's ſchemes, or more diſagreeable to his inclination, than theſe propoſitions. Averſe, through his whole life, to any courſe where he expected oppoſition or danger; and fond of attaining his ends with the character of

* Spotſw. 413, 435.

moderation, and by the arts of policy, he obſerved with concern the prejudices againſt him which were growing among the Roman catholics, and reſolved to make ſome atonement for that part of his conduct which had drawn on him their indignation. Elizabeth was now well advanced in years; her life had lately been in danger; if any popiſh competitor ſhould ariſe to diſpute his right of ſucceſſion, a faction ſo powerful as that of the baniſhed lords might be extremely formidable; and any diviſion among his own ſubjects might prove fatal at a juncture which would require their united and moſt vigorous efforts. Inſtead, therefore, of the additional ſeverities which the aſſembly propoſed, James had thoughts of mitigating the puniſhment which they already ſuffered. And as they were ſurrounded, during their reſidence in foreign parts, by Philip's emiſſaries; as reſentment might diſpoſe them to liſten more favourably than ever to their ſuggeſtions; as deſpair might drive them to ſtill more atrocious actions; he reſolved to recal them, under certain conditions, into their native country. Encouraged by theſe ſentiments of the king in their favour, of which they did not want intelligence, and wearied already of the dependent and anxious life of exiles, they ventured to return ſecretly into Scotland. Soon after, they preſented a petition to the king, begging his permiſſion to reſide at their own houſes, and offering to give ſecurity for their peaceable and dutiful behaviour. James called a convention of eſtates to deliberate on a matter of ſuch importance, and by their advice he granted the petition.

So ſoon as they were informed of this, the members of a committee, appointed by the laſt aſſembly, met at Edinburgh, and with all the precipitancy of fear, and of zeal, took ſuch reſolutions as they thought neceſſary for the ſafety of the kingdom. They wrote circular letters to all the preſbyteries in Scotland; they warned them of the approaching danger; they exhorted them to ſtir up their people to the defence of their juſt rights; they commanded them to publiſh, in all their pulpits

the act of excommunicating the popiſh lords; and enjoined them to lay all thoſe who were ſuſpected of favouring popery under the ſame cenſure by a ſummary ſentence, and without obſerving the uſual formalities of trial. And as the danger ſeemed too preſſing to wait for the ſtated meetings of the judicatories of the church, they made choice of the moſt eminent clergymen in different corners of the kingdom, appointed them to reſide conſtantly at Edinburgh, and to meet every day with the miniſters of that city, under the name of the *Standing Council of the Church*, and veſted in this body the ſupreme authority, by enjoining it, in imitation of the ancient Roman form, to take care that the church ſhould receive no detriment.

Theſe proceedings, no leſs unconſtitutional than unprecedented, were manifeſt encroachments on the royal prerogative, and bold ſteps towards open rebellion. The king's conduct, however, juſtified in ſome degree ſuch exceſſes. His lenity towards the papiſts, ſo repugnant to the principles of that age; his pardoning the conſpirators, notwithſtanding repeated promiſes to the contrary; the reſpect he paid to lady Huntly, who was attached to the Romiſh religion no leſs than her huſband; his committing the care of his daughter, the princeſs Elizabeth, to lady Levingſton, who was infected with the ſame ſuperſtition; the contempt with which he talked, on all occaſions, both of the character of miniſters, and of their function; were circumſtances which might have filled minds, not prone by nature to jealouſy, with ſome ſuſpicions; and might have precipitated into raſh counſels, thoſe who were far removed from intemperate zeal. But, however powerful the motives might be which influenced the clergy, or however laudable the end they had in view, they conducted their meaſures with no addreſs, and even with little prudence. James diſcovered a ſtrong inclination to avoid a rupture with the church, and jealous as he was of his prerogative, would willingly have made many conceſſions for the ſake of peace. By his command ſome of the privy-counſellors had an interview with the more moderate among the clergy, and inquired whether Huntly and

his aſſociates might not, upon making proper acknowledgments, be again received into the boſom of the church, and be exempted from any further puniſhment on account of their paſt apoſtacy and treaſons. They replied, that though the gate of mercy ſtood always open for thoſe who repented and returned, yet as theſe noblemen had been guilty of idolatry, a crime deſerving death both by the law of God and of man, the civil magiſtrate could not legally grant them a pardon; and even though the church ſhould abſolve them, it was his duty to inflict puniſhment upon them. This inflexibility in thoſe who were reckoned the moſt compliant of the order, filled the king with indignation, which the imprudence and obſtinacy of a private clergyman heightened into rage.

Mr. David Black, miniſter of St. Andrews, diſcourſing in one of his ſermons, according to cuſtom, concerning the ſtate of the nation, affirmed that the king had permitted the popiſh lords to return into Scotland, and by that action had diſcovered the treachery of his own heart; that all kings were the devil's children; that Satan had now the guidance of the court; that the queen of England was an atheiſt; that the judges were miſcreants and bribers; the nobility godleſs and degenerate; the privy-counſellors cormorants, and men of no religion; and in his prayer for the queen he uſed theſe words, we muſt pray for her for faſhion's ſake, but we have no cauſe, ſhe will never do us good. James commanded him to be ſummoned before the privy-council, to anſwer for ſuch ſeditious expreſſions; and the clergy inſtead of abandoning him to the puniſhment which ſuch a petulant and criminal attack on his ſuperiors deſerved, were ſo imprudent as to eſpouſe his cauſe, as if it had been the common one of the whole order. The controverſy concerning the immunities of the pulpit, and the right of the clergy to teſtify againſt vices of every kind, which had been agitated in one thouſand five hundred and eighty-four, was now revived. It was pretended that, with regard to their ſacred function, miniſters were ſubject to the church alone; that it belonged only to their eccleſiaſtical ſuperiors to

judge of the truth or falſehood of the doctrines delivered in the pulpit; that if, upon any pretence whatever, the king uſurped this juriſdiction, the church would, from that moment, ſink under ſervitude to the civil magiſtrate; that, inſtead of reproving vice with that honeſt boldneſs which had often been of advantage to individuals, and ſalutary to the kingdom, the clergy would learn to flatter the paſſions of the prince, and to connive at the vices of others; that the king's eagerneſs to puniſh the indiſcretion of a proteſtant miniſter, while he was ready to pardon the crimes of popiſh conſpirators, called on them to ſtand on their guard, and that now was the time to contend for their privileges, and to prevent any encroachment on thoſe rights, of which the church had been in poſſeſſion ever ſince the Reformation. Influenced by theſe conſiderations, the council of the church enjoined Black to decline the juriſdiction of the privy-council. And he, proud of ſuch an opportunity to diſplay his zeal, preſented a paper to that purpoſe, and with the utmoſt firmneſs refuſed to plead, or to anſwer the queſtions which were put to him. In order to add greater weight to theſe proceedings, the council of the church tranſmitted the declinature to all the preſbyteries throughout the whole kingdom, and enjoined every miniſter to ſubſcribe it, in teſtimony of his approbation.

James defended his rights with no leſs vigour than they were attacked. Senſible of the contempt under which his authority muſt fall, if the clergy ſhould be permitted publicly, and with impunity, to calumniate his miniſters, and even to cenſure himſelf; and knowing, by former examples, what unequal reparation for ſuch offences he might expect from the judicatories of the church, he urged on the inquiry into Black's conduct, and iſſued a proclamation, commanding the members of the council of the church to leave Edinburgh, and to return to their own pariſhes. Black inſtead of ſubmitting, renewed his declinature; and the council, in defiance of the proclamation, declared, that as they met by the authority of the church, obedience to it was a duty ſtill more ſacred than that which they owed to

the king himſelf. The privy-council, notwithſtanding Black's refuſing to plead, proceeded in the trial; and, after a ſolemn inquiry, pronounced him guilty of the crimes of which he had been accuſed; but referred it to the king to appoint what puniſhment he ſhould ſuffer.

Mean while, many endeavours were uſed to bring matters to accommodation. Almoſt every day produced ſome new ſcheme of reconcilement; but through the king's fickleneſs, the obſtinacy of the clergy, or the intrigues of the courtiers, they all proved ineffectual. Both parties appealed to the people, and by reciprocal and exaggerated accuſations endeavoured to render each other odious. Inſolence, ſedition, treaſon, were the crimes with which James charged the clergy, while they made the pulpits reſound with complaints of his extenſive lenity towards papiſts, and of the no leſs exceſſive rigour with which he oppreſſed the eſtabliſhed church. Exaſperated by their bold invectives, he, at laſt ſentenced Black to retire beyond the river Spey, and to reſide there during his pleaſure; and once more commanding the members of the ſtanding council to depart from Edinburgh, he required all the miniſters in the kingdom to ſubſcribe a bond, obliging themſelves to ſubmit, in the ſame manner as other ſubjects, to the juriſdiction of the civil courts in matters of a civil nature.

This deciſive meaſure excited all the violent paſſions which poſſeſs diſappointed factions; and deeds no leſs violent immediately followed. Theſe muſt be imputed in part to the artifices of ſome courtiers, who expected to reap advantage from the calamities of their country or who hoped to leſſen the authority of the Octavians, by engaging them in hoſtilities with the church. On one hand, they informed the king, that the citizens of Edinburgh were under arms every night, and had planted a ſtrong guard round the houſes of their miniſters. James, in order to put a ſtop to this imaginary inſult on his government, iſſued a proclamation, commanding twenty-four of the principal citizens to leave the town within ſix hours. On the other hand, they wrote to the miniſters adviſing them to look to their own ſafety, as Huntly had been ſecretly admitted to an interview

with the king, and had been the author of the ſevere proclamation againſt the citizens of Edinburgh §. They doubted no more of the truth of this intelligence, than the king had done of that which he received, and fell as blindly into the ſnare. The letter came to their hands juſt as one of their number was going to mount the pulpit. They reſolved that he ſhould acquaint the people of their danger: and he painted it with all the ſtrongeſt colours which men naturally employ in deſcribing any dreadful and inſtant calamity. When the ſermon was over, he deſired the nobles and gentlemen to aſſemble in the *Little Church*. The whole multitude, terrified at what they had heard, crowded thither; they promiſed and vowed to ſtand by the church; they drew up a petition to the king craving the redreſs of their grievances, of which the clergy complained, and beſeeching him to deliver them from all future apprehenſions of danger, by removing ſuch of his counſellors as were known to be enemies of the proteſtant religion. Two peers, two gentlemen, two burgeſſes, and two miniſters, were appointed to preſent it. The king happened to be in the great hall of the tolbooth where the court of ſeſſion was ſitting. The manner in which the petition was delivered, as well as its contents, offended him. He gave an haughty reply; the petitioners inſiſted with warmth; and a promiſcuous multitude preſſing into the room, James retired abruptly into another apartment, and commanded the gates to be ſhut behind him. The deputies returned to the multitude, who were ſtill aſſembled, and to whom a miniſter had been reading, in their abſence, the ſtory of Haman. When

§ Though matters were induſtriouſly aggravated by perſons, who wiſhed both parties to purſue violent meaſures, neither of theſe reports was altogether deſtitute of foundation. As their miniſters were ſuppoſed to be in danger, ſome of the more zealous citizens had determined to defend them by force of arms. Birch, Mem. ii. 250. Huntly had been privately in Edinburgh, where he had an interview, if not with the king, at leaſt with ſome of his miniſters. Birch, Ibid. 230.

they reported that the king had refuſed to liſten to their petitions, the church was filled in a moment with noiſe, threatenings, execrations, and all the outrage and confuſion of a popular tumult. Some called for their arms, ſome to bring out the wicked Haman; others cried, "The ſword of the Lord and of Gideon;" and ruſhing out with the moſt furious impetuoſity, ſurrounded the tolbooth, threatening the king himſelf and demanding ſome of his counſellors, whom they named, that they might tear them in pieces. The magiſtrates of the city, partly by authority, partly by force, endeavoured to quell the tumult; the king attempted to ſoothe the malecontents, by promiſing to receive their petitions, when preſented in a regular manner; the miniſters ſenſible of their own raſhneſs in kindling ſuch a flame, ſeconded both; and the rage of the populace ſubſiding as ſuddenly as it had riſen, they all diſperſed, and the king returned to the palace, happy in having eſcaped from an inſurrection, which through the inſtantaneous and unconcerted effect of popular fury, had expoſed his life to imminent danger, and was conſidered by him as an unpardonable affront to his authority *.

As ſoon as he retired, the leaders of the malecontents aſſembled in order to prepare their petition. The puniſhment of the popiſh lords; the removal of thoſe counſellors who were ſuſpected of favouring their perſons or opinions; the repeal of all the late acts of council, ſubverſive of the authority of the church; together with an act approving the proceedings of the ſtanding council; were the chief of their demands. But the king's indignation was ſtill ſo high, that the deputies choſen for that purpoſe durſt not venture that night to preſent requeſts, which could not fail of kindling his rage anew. Before next morning, James, with all his attendants, withdrew to Linlithgow; the ſeſſion and other courts of juſtice, were required to leave a city where it was no longer conſiſtent either with their ſafety, or their dignity, to remain; and the noblemen and

* Spotſw. 417, &c. Cald. v. 54, &c. Birch, Mem. ii. 235.

barons were commanded to return to their own houſes, and not to reaſſemble without the king's permiſſion. The vigour with which the king acted, ſtruck a damp upon the ſpirits of his adverſaries. The citizens, ſenſible how much they would ſuffer by his abſence, and the removal of the courts of juſtice, repented already of their conduct. The miniſters alone reſolved to maintain the conteſt. They endeavoured to prevent the nobles from diſperſing; they inflamed the people by violent invectives againſt the king; they laboured to procure ſubſcriptions to an aſſociation for their mutual defence; and conſcious what luſtre and power the junction of ſome of the greater nobles would add to their cauſe, the miniſters of Edinburgh wrote to lord Hamilton, that the people, moved by the word of God, and provoked by the injuries offered to the church, had taken arms; that many of the nobles had determined to protect the proteſtant religion, which owed its eſtabliſhment to the piety and valour of their anceſtors; that they wanted only a leader to unite them, and to inſpire them with vigour; that his zeal for the good cauſe, no leſs than his noble birth, entitled him to that honour: they conjured him, therefore, not to diſappoint their hopes and wiſhes, nor to refuſe the ſuffering church that aid which ſhe ſo much needed. Lord Hamilton, inſtead of complying with their deſire, carried the letter directly to the king, whom this new inſult irritated to ſuch a degree, that he commanded the magiſtrates of Edinburgh inſtantly to ſeize their miniſters, as manifeſt incendiaries, and encouragers of rebellion. The magiſtrates, in order to regain the king's favour, were preparing to obey; and the miniſters who ſaw no other hope of ſafety, fled towards England *.

This unſucceſsful inſurrection, inſtead of overturning, eſtabliſhed the king's authority. Thoſe concerned in it were confounded and diſperſed. And the reſt of his ſubjects, in order to avoid ſuſpicion, or to gain his favour contended who ſhould be moſt forward to execute

* Spotſw. 451. Cald. v. 126.

his vengeance. A convention of eſtates being called pronounced the late inſurrection to be high treaſon; ordained every miniſter to ſubſcribe a declaration of his ſubmiſſion to the king's juriſdiction, in all matters civil and criminal; impowered magiſtrates to commit, inſtantly, to priſon any miniſter, who, in his ſermons, ſhould utter indecent reflections on the king's conduct; prohibited any eccleſiaſtical judicatory to meet without the king's licence; commanded that no perſon ſhould be elected a magiſtrate of Edinburgh, for the future, without the king's approbation; and that, in the mean time, the preſent magiſtrates ſhould either diſcover and inflict condign puniſhment on the authors of the late tumult, or the city itſelf ſhould be ſubjected to all the penalties of that treaſonable action†.

Armed with the authority of theſe decrees, James reſolved to cruſh entirely the mutinous ſpirit of his ſubjects. As the clergy had hitherto derived their chief credit and ſtrength from the favour and zeal of the citizens of Edinburgh, this firſt care was to humble them. Though the magiſtrates ſubmitted to him in the moſt abject terms; though they vindicated themſelves, and their fellow-citizens, from the moſt diſtant intention of violating his moſt royal perſon or authority; though, after the ſtricteſt ſcrutiny, no circumſtances that could fix on them the ſuſpicion of premeditated rebellion had been diſcovered; though many of the nobles and ſuch of the clergy as ſtill retained any degree of favour, interceded in their behalf; neither acknowledgments nor interceſſions were of the leaſt avail‖. The king continued inexorable; the city was declared to have forfeited its privileges as a corporation, and to be liable to all the penalties of treaſon. The capital of the kingdom, deprived of magiſtrates, deſerted by its miniſters, abandoned by the courts of juſtice, and proſcribed by the king, remained in deſolation and deſpair. The courtiers even threatened to raze the city to the foundation, and to erect a pillar where it ſtood, as an everlaſting monument of the

† Cald. v. 147. ‖ Ibid. v. 159.

king's vengeance, and of the guilt of its inhabitants. At laſt, in compliance with Elizabeth, who interpoſed in their favour, and moved by the continual ſolicitations of the nobles, James abſolved the citizens from the penalties of law, but at the ſame time he ſtripped them of their moſt important privileges; they were neither allowed to elect their own magiſtrates nor their own miniſters; many new burdens were impoſed on them; and a great ſum of money was exacted by way of peace-offering ‖.

James was, mean while, equally aſſiduous, and no leſs ſucceſsful, in circumſcribing the juriſdiction of the church. Experience had diſcovered that to attempt this, by acts of parliament, and ſentences of privy-council, was both ineffectual and odious. He had recourſe now to an expedient more artful, and better calculated for obtaining his end. The eccleſiaſtical judicatories were compoſed of many members; the majority of the clergy were extremely indigent, and unprovided of legal ſtipends; the miniſters in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, notwithſtanding the purity eſtabliſhed by the preſbyterian government, had aſſumed a leading in the church, which filled their brethren with envy; every numerous body of men is ſuſceptible of ſudden and ſtrong impreſſions, and liable to be influenced, corrupted, or overawed. Induced by theſe conſiderations, James thought it poſſible to gain the clergy, whom he had in vain attempted to ſubdue. Proper agents were ſet to work all over the kingdom; promiſes, flattery, and threats, were employed; the uſurpations of the brethren near the capital were aggravated; the jealouſy of their power, which was growing in the diſtant provinces, was augmented; and two different general aſſemblies were held, in both which, notwithſtanding the zeal and boldneſs wherewith a few leading clergymen defended the privileges of the church, a majority declared in favour of thoſe meaſures which were agreeable to the king. Many practices, which continued

‖ Spotſw. 434, 444.

ſince the Reformation, were condemned; many points of diſcipline, which had hitherto been reckoned ſacred and uncontroverted, were given up; the licence, with which miniſters diſcourſed of political matters, was reſtrained; the freedom, with which they inveighed againſt particular perſons, cenſured; ſentences of ſummary excommunications declared unlawful; the convoking of a general aſſembly without the king's permiſſion, prohibited; and the right of nominating miniſters to the principal towns, veſted in the crown. Thus, the clergy themſelves ſurrendered privileges, which it would have been dangerous to invade, and voluntarily ſubmitted to a yoke more intolerable than any James would have ventured to impoſe by force; while thoſe who continued to oppoſe his meaſures, inſtead of their former popular topic of the king's violent encroachments on a juriſdiction which did not belong him, were obliged to turn their outcries againſt the corruptions of their own order *.

By the authority of theſe general aſſemblies, the popiſh earls were allowed to make a public recantation of their errors; were abſolved from the ſentence of excommunication; and received into the boſom of the church. But, not many years after, they relapſed into their former errors, were again reconciled to the church of Rome, and by their apoſtacy juſtified, in ſome degree, the fears and ſcruples of the clergy with regard to their abſolution.

The miniſters of Edinburgh owed to the interceſſion of theſe aſſemblies the liberty of returning to their charges in the city. But this liberty was clogged in ſuch a manner as greatly abridged their power. The city was divided into diſtinct pariſhes; the number of miniſters doubled; perſons on whoſe fidelity the king could rely were fixed in the new pariſhes; and theſe circumſtances, added to the authority of the late decrees of the church, contributed to confirm that abſolute dominion in eccleſiaſtical affairs, which James poſſeſſed during the remainder of his reign.

* Spotſw. 433. Cald. v. 189, 233.

The king was ſo intent on new modelling the church, that the other tranſactions of this period ſcarce deſerve to be remembered. The Octavians, envied by the other courtiers, and ſplitting into factions among themſelves, reſigned their commiſſion; and the adminiſtration of the revenue returning into its former channel, both the king and the nation were deprived of the benefit of their regular and frugal economy.

Towards the end of the year a parliament was held, in order to reſtore Huntly and his aſſociates to their eſtates and honours, by repealing the act of forfeiture paſſed againſt them. The authority of this ſupreme court was likewiſe employed to introduce a farther innovation into the church; but, conformable to the ſyſtem which the king had now adopted, the motion for this purpoſe took its riſe from the clergy themſelves. As the act of general annexation, and that eſtabliſhing the preſbyterian government, had reduced the few biſhops, who ſtill ſurvived, to poverty and contempt; as thoſe who poſſeſſed the abbeys and priories were mere laymen, and many of them temporal peers, few or none of the eccleſiaſtical order remained to vote in parliament, and, by means of that, the influence of the crown was conſiderably diminiſhed there, and a proper balance to the power and number of the nobles was wanting. But the prejudices the nation had conceived againſt the name and character of biſhops were ſo violent, that James was obliged, with the utmoſt care, to avoid the appearance of a deſign to revive that order. He prevailed therefore on the commiſſion appointed by laſt aſſembly to complain to the parliament, that the church was the only body in the kingdom deſtitute of its repreſentatives in that ſupreme court, where it ſo nearly concerned every order to have ſome, who were bound to defend its rights; and to crave that a competent number of the clergy ſhould be admitted, according to ancient cuſtom, to a ſeat there. In compliance with their requeſt, an act was paſſed, by which thoſe miniſters, on whom the king ſhould confer the vacant biſhoprics and abbeys, were entitled to a

vote in parliament; and that the clergy might conceive no jealouſy of any encroachment on their privileges, it was remitted to the general aſſembly, to determine what ſpiritual juriſdiction or authority in the government of the church theſe perſons ſhould poſſeſs †.

The king, however, found it no eaſy matter to obtain the concurrence of the eccleſiaſtical judicatories, in which the act of parliament met with a fierce oppoſition. Though the clergy perceived how much luſtre this new privilege would reflect upon their order; though they were not inſenſible of the great acceſſion of perſonal power and dignity, which many of them would acquire, by being admitted into the ſupreme council of the nation, their abhorrence of epiſcopacy was extreme; and to that they ſacrificed every conſideration of intereſt or ambition. All the king's profeſſions of regard for the preſent conſtitution of the church did not convince them of his ſincerity; all the devices that could be invented for reſtraining and circumſcribing the juriſdiction of thoſe who were to be raiſed to this new honour, did not diminiſh their jealouſy and fear. Their own experience had taught them, with what inſinuating progreſs the hierarchy advances, and though admitted at firſt with moderate authority, and under ſpecious pretences, how rapidly it extends its dominion. "Varniſh over this ſcheme," ſaid one of the leading clergymen, "with what colours you pleaſe; deck the intruder with the utmoſt art; under all this diſguiſe, I ſee the horns of his mitre." The ſame ſentiments prevailed among many of his brethren, and induced them to reject power and honours, with as much zeal as ever thoſe of their order courted them. Many, however, were allured by the hopes of preferment; the king himſelf and his miniſters employed the ſame arts, which they had tried ſo ſucceſsfully laſt year; and after long debates, and much oppoſition, the general aſſembly declared that it was lawful for miniſters to accept of a ſeat in parliament; that it would be highly

† Spotſw. 450. Parl. 15th Jac. VI. c. 233.

beneficial to the church, to have its repreſentatives in that ſupreme court; and that fifty-one perſons, a number nearly equal to that of the eccleſiaſtics who were anciently called to parliament, ſhould be choſen from among the clergy for that purpoſe. The manner of their election, together with the powers to be veſted in them, were left undecided for the preſent, and furniſhed matter of future deliberation †.

As the proſpect of ſucceeding to the crown of England drew nearer, James multiplied precautions in order to render it certain. And as he was allied to many of the princes of Germany by his marriage, he ſent ambaſſadors extraordinary to their ſeveral courts, in order to explain the juſtneſs of his title to the Engliſh throne, and to deſire their aſſiſtance, if any competitor ſhould ariſe to diſpute his undoubted rights. Theſe princes readily acknowledged the equity of his claim; but the aid they could afford him was diſtant and feeble. At the ſame time, Edward Bruce, abbot of Kinloſs, his ambaſſador at the Engliſh court, ſolicited Elizabeth, with the utmoſt warmth, to recognize his title by ſome public deed, and to deliver her own ſubjects from the calamities which are occaſioned by an uncertain or diſputed ſucceſſion. But age had ſtrengthened all the paſſions which had hitherto induced Elizabeth to keep this great queſtion obſcure and undecided; and a general and evaſive anſwer was all that James could obtain. As no impreſſion could be made on the queen, the ambaſſador was commanded to ſound the diſpoſition of her ſubjects, and to try what progreſs he could make in gaining them. Bruce poſſeſſed all the talents of ſecrecy, judgment, and addreſs, requiſite for conducting a negotiation no leſs delicate, than important. A miniſter of this character was intitled to the confidence of the Engliſh. Many of the higheſt rank unboſomed themſelves to him without reſerve, and gave him repeated aſſurances of their reſolution to aſſert his maſter's right, in oppoſition to every pretender ‡. And as ſeveral pamphlets were diſperſed, at this time, in

† Spotſw. 450. Cald. v. 278. ‡ Johnſt. 242.

England, containing objections to his title, James employed ſome learned men in his kingdom to anſwer theſe cavillers, and to explain the advantages which would reſult to both kingdoms by the union of the crowns. Theſe books were eagerly read and contributed not a little to reconcile the Engliſh to that event. A book publiſhed this year by the king himſelf, produced an effect ſtill more favourable. It was intitled *Baſilicon Doron*, and contained precepts concerning the art of government, addreſſed to prince Henry his ſon. Notwithſtanding the great alterations and refinements in national taſte ſince that time, we muſt allow this to be no contemptible performance, and not to be inferior to the works of moſt contemporary writers, either in purity of ſtyle or juſtneſs of compoſition. Even that vain parade of erudition with which it abounds, and which now diſguſts us, raiſed the admiration of that age; and, as it was filled with thoſe general rules which ſpeculative authors deliver for rendering a people happy, and of which James could diſcourſe with great plauſibility, though often incapable of putting them in practice, the Engliſh conceived a high opinion of his abilities, and expected an increaſe of national honour and proſperity, under a prince ſo profoundly ſkilled in politics, and who gave ſuch a ſpecimen both of his wiſdom and of his love to his people *.

The queen of England's ſentiments concerning James, were very different from thoſe of her ſubjects. His exceſſive indulgence towards the popiſh lords; the facility with which he pardoned their repeated treaſons; his reſtoring Beaton, the popiſh archbiſhop of Glaſgow, who had fled out of Scotland at the time of the Reformation, to the poſſeſſion of the temporalities of that benefice; the appointing him his ambaſſador at the court of France; the applauſe he beſtowed, in the Baſilicon Doron, on thoſe who adhered to the queen his mother; Elizabeth conſidered as ſo many indications of a mind alienated from the proteſtant religion; and ſuſpected that he would ſoon revolt from

* Camd. Spotſw. 457.

the profeſſion of it. Theſe ſuſpicions ſeemed to be fully confirmed by a diſcovery which came from the Maſter of Gray, who reſided at that time in Italy, and who, rather than ſuffer his intriguing ſpirit to be idle, demeaned himſelf ſo far as to act as a ſpy for the Engliſh court. He conveyed to Elizabeth the copy of a letter, written by James to pope Clement VIII. in which the king, after many expreſſions of regard for that pontiff, and of gratitude for his favours, declared his firm reſolution to treat the Roman catholics with indulgence; and in order to render the intercouſe between the court of Rome and Scotland more frequent and familiar, he ſolicited the pope to promote Drummond, biſhop of Vaiſon, a Scotſman to the dignity of a cardinal †. Elizabeth who had received by another channel ‡, ſome imperfect intelligence of this correſpondence, was filled with juſt ſurpriſe, and immediately deſpatched Bowes into Scotland, to inquire more fully into the truth of the matter, and to reproach James for an action ſo unbecoming a proteſtant prince. He was no leſs aſtoniſhed at the accuſation, and with a confidence, which nothing but the conſciouſneſs of innocence could inſpire, affirmed the whole to be a mere calumny, and the letter itſelf to be forged by his enemies, on purpoſe to bring his ſincerity in religion to be ſuſpected. Elphingſton the ſecretary of ſtate denied the matter with equal ſolemnity. It came to be known by a very ſingular accident, which happened ſome years after, that the information which Elizabeth had received was well founded, though at the ſame time the king's declarations of his own innocence were perfectly conſiſtent with truth. Cardinal Bellarmine, in a reply which he publiſhed to a controverſial treatiſe, of which the king was the author, accuſed him of having abandoned the favourable ſentiments which he had once entertained of the Roman catholic religion, and as a proof of this, quoted his letter to pope Clement VIII. It was impoſſible, any longer, to believe this to be a fiction; and it was a matter too delicate to be paſſed over

† Cald. 333. ‡ Winw. Mem. vol. i. 37, 52.

without ſtrict inquiry. James immediately examined Elphingſton, and his confeſſion unravelled the whole myſtery. He acknowledged that he had ſhuffled in this letter among other papers, which he laid before the king to be ſigned, who, ſuſpecting no ſuch deceit, ſubſcribed it together with the reſt, and without knowing what it contained; that he had no other motive, however, to this action, but zeal for his majeſty's ſervice; and, by flattering the Roman catholics with hopes of indulgence under the king's government, he imagined that he was paving his way for the more eaſy acceſſion to the Engliſh throne. The privy council of England entertained very different ſentiments of the ſecretary's conduct. In their opinion, not only the king's reputation had been expoſed to reproach, but his life to danger, by this raſh impoſture; they even imputed the gunpowder treaſon to the rage and diſappointment of the papiſts, upon finding that the hopes which this letter inſpired were fruſtrated. The ſecretary was ſent a priſoner into Scotland, to be tried for high treaſon. His peers found him guilty, but, by the queen's interceſſion, he obtained a pardon †.

According to the account of other hiſtorians, James himſelf was no ſtranger to this correſpondence with the pope; and, if we believe them, Elphingſton, being intimidated by the threats of the Engliſh council, and deceived by the artifices of the earl of Dunbar, concealed ſome circumſtances in his narrative of this tranſaction, and falſified others; and at the expence of his own fame, and with the danger of his life, endeavoured to draw a veil over this part of his maſter's conduct *.

But whether we impute the writing of this letter to the ſecretary's officious zeal, or to the king's command, it is certain, that, about this time, James was at the utmoſt pains to gain the friendſhip of the Roman catholic princes, as a neceſſary precaution towards facilitating his acceſſion to the Engliſh throne. Lord

† Spotſw. 456, 507. Johnſt. 448. * Cald. vol. v. 322. vi. 147.

Home, who was himſelf a papiſt, was entruſted with a ſecret commiſſion to the pope ¶; the archbiſhop of Glaſgow was an active inſtrument with thoſe of his own religion *. The pope expreſſed ſuch favourable ſentiments both of the king, and of his right to the crown of England, that James thought himſelf bound, ſome years after, to acknowledge the obligation in a public manner §. Sir James Lindſay made great progreſs in gaining the Engliſh papiſts to acknowledge his majeſty's title. Of all theſe intrigues Elizabeth received obſcure hints from different quarters. The more imperfectly ſhe knew, the more violently ſhe ſuſpected the king's deſigns; and the natural jealouſy of her temper increaſing with age, ſhe obſerved his conduct with greater ſolicitude than ever.

The queſtions with regard to the election and power of the repreſentatives of the church, were finally decided this year at the general aſſembly, which met at Montroſe. That place was choſen as moſt convenient for the miniſters of the north, among whom the king's influence chiefly lay. And although great numbers reſorted from the northern provinces, and the king employed his whole intereſt, and the authority of his own preſence, to gain a majority, the following regulations were with difficulty agreed on: That the general aſſembly ſhall recommend ſix perſons to every vacant benefice, which gave a title to a ſeat in parliament, out of whom the king ſhall nominate one; that the perſon ſo elected, after obtaining his ſeat in parliament, ſhall neither propoſe nor conſent to any thing there, that may affect the intereſt of the church, without ſpecial inſtructions to that purpoſe; that he ſhall be anſwerable for his conduct to every general aſſembly; and ſubmit to its cenſure, without appeal, upon pain of infamy and excommunication; that he ſhall diſcharge the duties of a paſtor, in a particular congregation; that he ſhall not uſurp any eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, ſuperior to that of his other brethren; that if the church in-

¶ Winw. Mem. vol. ii. 57. * Cald. vol. vi. 147.
§ Ibid. vol. v. 604.

flict on him the cenſure of deprivation, he ſhall thereby forfeit his ſeat in parliament; that he ſhall annually reſign his commiſſion to the general aſſembly, which may be reſtored to him, or not, as the aſſembly, with the king's approbation, ſhall judge moſt expedient for the good of the church *. Nothing could be more repugnant to the idea of epiſcopal government, than theſe regulations. It was not in conſequence of rights derived from their office, but of powers conferred by a commiſſion, that the eccleſiaſtical perſons were to be admitted to a ſeat in parliament; they were the repreſentatives, not the ſuperiors of the clergy. Deſtitute of all ſpiritual authority, even their civil juriſdiction was temporary. James, however, flattered himſelf that they would ſoon be able to ſhake off theſe fetters, and gradually acquire all the privileges which belonged to the epiſcopal order. The clergy dreaded the ſame thing; and he contended for, and they oppoſed the nomination of theſe commiſſioners, not ſo much on account of the powers then veſted in them, as of thoſe to which it was believed they would ſoon attain †.

During this ſummer, the kingdom enjoyed an unuſual tranquillity. The clergy, after many ſtruggles, were brought under great ſubjection; the popiſh earls were reſtored to their eſtates and honours, by the authority of parliament, and with the conſent of the church; the reſt of the nobles were at peace among themſelves, and obedient to the royal authority; when, in the midſt of this ſecurity, the king's life was expoſed to the utmoſt danger, by a conſpiracy altogether unexpected, and almoſt inexplicable. The authors of it were John Ruthven, earl of Gowrie, and his brother Alexander, the ſons of that earl who was beheaded in the year 1584. Nature had adorned both theſe young men, eſpecially the elder brother, with many accompliſhments, to which education had added its moſt elegant improvements. More learned than is uſual among perſons of their rank; more religious than is common at their age of life; ge-

* Spotſw. 453, 457. Cald. vol. v. 368. Spotſw. 454.

nerous, brave, popular; their countrymen, far from thinking them capable of any atrocious crime, conceived the moſt ſanguine hopes of their early virtues. Notwithſtanding all theſe noble qualities, ſome unknown motive engaged them in a conſpiracy, which, if we adhere to the account commonly received, muſt be tranſmitted to poſterity, as one of the moſt wicked, as well as one of the worſt concerted, of which hiſtory makes any mention.

On the fifth of Auguſt, 1600, as the king who reſided during the hunting ſeaſon in his palace of Falkland, was going out to his ſport early in the morning, he was accoſted by Mr. Alexander Ruthven, who with an air of great importance, told the king, that the evening before, he had met an unknown man, of a ſuſpicious aſpect, walking alone in a by-path, near his brother's houſe at Perth; and on ſearching him, had found, under his cloak, a pot filled with a vaſt quantity of foreign gold; that he immediately ſeized both him and his treaſure, and, without communicating the matter to any perſon, had kept him confined and bound in a ſolitary houſe; and that he thought it his duty to impart ſuch a ſingular event firſt of all to his majeſty. James immediately ſuſpected this unknown perſon to be a trafficking prieſt, ſupplied with foreign coin, in order to excite new commotions in the kingdom; and reſolved to impower the magiſtrates of Perth to call the perſon before them, and inquire into all the circumſtances of the ſtory. Ruthven violently oppoſed this reſolution, and with many arguments urged the king to ride directly to Perth, and to examine the matter with his own eyes. Mean while the chace began; and James, notwithſtanding his paſſion for that amuſement, could not help ruminating upon the ſtrangeneſs of the tale, and on Ruthven's importunity. At laſt he called him, and promiſed him, when the ſport was over to ſet out for Perth. The chace, however, continued long; and Ruthven, who all the while kept cloſe by the king, was ſtill calling on him to make haſte. At the death of the buck he would not allow James to ſlay

a freſh horſe was brought him; and obſerving the duke of Lennox and the earl of Mar preparing to accompany the king, he intreated him to countermand them. This James refuſed; and though Ruthven's impatience and anxiety, as well as the apparent perturbation in his whole behaviour, raiſed ſome ſuſpicions in his mind; yet his own curioſity, and Ruthven's ſolicitations, prevailed on him to ſet out for Perth. When within a mile of the town, Ruthven rode forward to inform his brother of the king's arrival, though he had already deſpatched two meſſengers for that purpoſe. At a little diſtance from the town, the earl, attended by ſeveral of the citizens, met the king, who had only twenty perſons in his train. No preparations were made for the king's entertainment; the earl appeared penſive and embarraſſed, and was at no pains to atone, by his courteſy or hoſpitality, for the bad fare with which he treated his gueſts. When the king's repaſt was over, his attendants were led to dine in another room, and he being left almoſt alone, Ruthven whiſpered him, that now was the time to go to the chamber where the unknown perſon was kept. James commanded him to bring ſir Thomas Erſkine along with them; but, inſtead of that, Ruthven ordered him not to follow: and conducting the king up a ſtair caſe, and then through ſeveral apartments, the doors of which he locked behind him, led him at laſt into a ſmall ſtudy, in which there ſtood a man clad in armour, with a ſword and dagger by his ſide. The king, who expected to have found one diſarmed and bound, ſtarted at the ſight, and inquired if this was the perſon; but Ruthven ſnatching the dagger from the girdle of the man in armour, and holding it to the king's breaſt, "Remember," ſaid he, "how unjuſtly my father ſuffered by your command; you are now "my priſoner; ſubmit to my diſpoſal without reſiſtance "or outcry, or this dagger ſhall inſtantly avenge his "blood." James expoſtulated with Ruthven, intreated, and flattered him. The man whom he found in the ſtudy ſtood, all the while, trembling and diſmayed, without courage either to aid the king, or to ſecond his aggreſſor. Ruthven proteſted, that if the king raiſed

no outcry his life ſhould be ſafe; and, moved by ſome unknown reaſon, retired in order to call his brother, leaving to the man in armour the care of the king, whom he bound by oath not to make any noiſe during his abſence.

While the king was in this dangerous ſituation, his attendants growing impatient to know whither he had retired, one of Gowrie's attendants entered the room haſtily, and told them that the king had juſt rode away towards Falkland. All of them ruſhed out into the ſtreet; and the earl, in the utmoſt hurry, called for their horſes. But by this time his brother had returned to the king, and ſwearing that now there was no remedy, he muſt die, offered to bind his hands. Unarmed as James was, he ſcorned to ſubmit to that indignity; and cloſing with the aſſaſſin, a fierce ſtruggle enſued. The man in armour ſtood, as formerly, amazed and motionleſs; and the king dragging Ruthven towards a window, which, during his abſence, he had perſuaded the perſon, with whom he was left to open, cried, with a wild and affrighted voice, "Treaſon! Treaſon! "Help! I am murdered!" His attendants heard, and knew the voice; and ſaw, at the window, a hand, which graſped the king's neck with violence. They flew with precipitation to his aſſiſtance. Lennox and Mar, with the greater number, ran up the principal ſtair-caſe, where they found all the doors ſhut, which they battered with the utmoſt fury, endeavouring to burſt them open. But ſir John Ramſay, entering by a back-ſtair, which led to the apartment where the king was, found the door open; and ruſhing upon Ruthven, who was ſtill ſtruggling with the king, ſtruck him twice with his dagger, and thruſt him towards the ſtair-caſe, where ſir Thomas Erſkine and ſir Hugh Herries met, and killed him; he crying with his laſt breath, "Alas! I am not to blame for this action." During this ſcuffle, the man who had been concealed in the ſtudy eſcaped unobſerved. Together with Ramſay, Erſkine, and Herries, one Wilſon, a footman, entered the room where the king was, and before they had time

to ſhut the door, Gowrie ruſhed in with a drawn ſword in each hand, followed by ſeven of his attendants well armed, and with a loud voice threatened them all with inſtant death. They immediately thruſt the king into the little ſtudy, and ſhutting the door upon him, encountered the earl. Notwithſtanding the inequality of numbers, ſir John Ramſay pierced Gowrie through the heart, and he fell down dead without uttering a word; his followers having received ſeveral wounds, immediately fled. Three of the king's defenders were likewiſe hurt in the conflict. A dreadful noiſe continued ſtill at the oppoſite door, where many perſons laboured in vain to force a paſſage; and the king being aſſured that they were Lennox, Mar, and his other friends, it was opened on the inſide. They ran to the king, whom they unexpectedly found ſafe, with tranſports of congratulation; and he, falling on his knees, with all his attendants around him, offered ſolemn thanks to God for ſuch a wonderful deliverance. The danger, however, was not yet over. The inhabitants of the town, whoſe provoſt Gowrie was, and by whom he was extremely beloved, hearing the fate of the two brothers, ran to their arms, and ſurrounded the houſe, threatening revenge, with many inſolent and opprobrious ſpeeches againſt the king. James endeavoured to pacify the enraged multitude, by ſpeaking to them from the window; he admitted their magiſtrates into the houſe; related to them all the circumſtances of the fact; and their fury ſubſiding by degrees, they diſperſed. On ſearching the earl's pockets for papers that might diſcover his deſigns and accomplices, nothing was found but a ſmall parchment bag, full of magical characters and words of enchantment; and if we may believe the account of the conſpiracy publiſhed by the king, "while theſe were about him, the wound of "which he died bled not; but as ſoon as they were "taken away, the blood guſhed out in great abun-"dance." After all the dangerous adventures of this buſy day, the king returned in the evening to Falkland, having committed the dead bodies of the two brothers to the cuſtody of the magiſtrates of Perth.

Notwithſtanding the minute detail which the king gave of all the circumſtances of this conſpiracy againſt his life, the motives which induced the two brothers to attempt an action ſo deteſtable, the end they had in view, and the accomplices on whoſe aid they depended, were altogether unknown. The words of Ruthven to the king gave ſome grounds to think that the deſire of revenging their father's death had inſtigated them to this attempt. But, whatever injuries their father had ſuffered, it is ſcarcely probable that they could impute them to the king, whoſe youth and ſubjection at that time to the violence of a faction exempted him from being the object of reſentment, on account of actions which were not done by his command. James had even endeavoured to repair the wrongs which the father had ſuffered by benefits to his children; and Gowrie himſelf, ſenſible of his favour, had acknowledged it with the warmeſt expreſſions of gratitude. Three of the earl's attendants, being convicted of aſſiſting him in this aſſault on the king's ſervants, were executed at Perth; but they could give no light into the motives which had prompted their maſter to an action ſo repugnant to theſe acknowledgements. Diligent ſearch was made for the perſon concealed in the ſtudy, and from him great diſcoveries were expected. But Andrew Henderſon, the earl's ſteward, who, upon a promiſe of pardon, confeſſed himſelf to be the man, was as much a ſtranger to his maſter's deſign as the reſt; and though placed in the ſtudy by Gowrie's command, he did not even know for what end that ſtation had been aſſigned him. The whole tranſaction remained as impenetrably dark as ever; and the two brothers, it was concluded, had concerted their ſcheme without either confident or accomplice, with unexampled ſecrecy as well as wickedneſs.

An accident, no leſs ſtrange than the other circumſtances of the ſtory, and which happened nine years after, diſcovered that this opinion, however plauſible, was ill-founded; and that the two brothers had not carried on their machinations all alone. One Sprot, a notary,

having whiſpered among ſome perſons, that he knew ſome ſecrets relating to Gowrie's conſpiracy, the privy-council thought the matter worthy their attention, and ordered him to be ſeized. His confeſſion was partly voluntary, and partly forced from him by torture. According to his account, Logan of Reſtalrig, a gentleman of an opulent fortune, but of diſſolute morals, was privy to all Gowrie's intentions, and an accomplice in his crimes. Mr. Ruthven, he ſaid, had frequent interviews with Logan, in order to concert the plan of their operations; the earl had correſponded with him to the ſame purpoſe; and one Bour, Logan's confident, was truſted with the ſecret, and carried the letters between them. Both Logan and Bour were now dead. But Sprot affirmed that he had read letters written both by Gowrie and Logan on that occaſion; and, in confirmation of his teſtimony, ſeveral of Logan's letters, which a curioſity fatal to himſelf had prompted Sprot to ſteal from among Bour's papers, were produced *. Theſe were compared by the privy-council, with papers of Logan's hand-writing, and the reſemblance was manifeſt. Per-

* Logan's letters were five in number. One to Bour, another to Gowrie, and three of them without any direction; nor could Sprot diſcover the name of the perſon to whom they were written. Logan gives him the appellation of *Right Honourable*. It appears from this, however, and from other words in the letter, *Crom.* 95. that there were ſeveral perſons privy to the conſpiracy. The date of the firſt letter is July 18th. Mr. Ruthven had communicated the matter to Logan only five days before, Ibid. It appears from the original *ſummons of forfaulture* againſt Logan's heirs, that Bour, though he had letters addreſſed to him with regard to a conſpiracy equally dangerous and important, was ſo illiterate that he could not read. "Jacobus Bour, literarum prorſus ignarus, dicti Georgii opera in legendis omnibus ſcriptis ad eum miſſis, vel pertinentibus, utebatur." This is altogether ſtrange; and nothing but the capricious character of Logan can account for his chooſing ſuch a confident.

ſons of undoubted credit, and well qualified to judge of the matter, examined them, and ſwore to their authenticity. Death itſelf did not exempt Logan from proſecution; his bones were dug up and tried for high treaſon, and by a ſentence equally odious and illegal†, his

† By the Roman law, perſons guilty of the crime of high treaſon might be tried even after death. This practice was adopted by the Scots, without any limitation, Parl. 1540, c. 69. But the unlimited exerciſe of this power was ſoon conceived to be dangerous; and the crown was laid under proper reſtrictions, by an act A. D. 1542, which has never been printed. The words of it are, "And becauſe the ſaid lords (i. e. the lords of articles) think the ſaid act (viz in 1540) too general, and prejudicial to the barons in the realm, therefore ſtatutes, and ordains that the ſaid act ſhall have no place in time coming, but againſt the heirs of them that notoriouſly commit, or ſhall commit leſe majeſty againſt the king's perſon, againſt the realm for averting the ſame, and againſt them that ſhall happen to betray the king's army allenarly, and being notoriouſly known in their time; and the heirs of theſe perſons to be called and judged within five years after the deceaſe of the ſaid perſons committers of the ſaid crimes; and the ſaid time being bypaſt, the ſaid heirs never to be purſued for the ſame." The ſentence againſt Logan violated this ſtatute in two particulars. He was not notourly known during his life to be an accomplice in the crime for which he was tried; and his heir was called in queſtion more than five years after his death. It is remarkable that this ſtatute ſeems not to have been attended to in the parliament which forfeited Logan. Another ſingular circumſtance deſerves notice. As it is a maxim of juſtice that no perſon can be tried in abſence; and as lawyers are always tenacious of their forms, and often abſurd in their devices for preſerving them, they contrived that in any proceſs againſt a dead perſon, his corpſe or bones ſhall be preſented at the bar. Examples of this occur frequently in the Scottiſh hiſtory. After the battle of Corrichie, the dead body of the earl of Huntly was preſented in parliament,

lands were forfeited, and his poſterity declared infamous. Sprot was condemned to be hanged for miſpriſion of treaſon. He adhered to his confeſſion to the laſt, and having promiſed, on the ſcaffold, to give the ſpectators a ſign in confirmation of the truth of what he had depoſed, he thrice clapped his hands after he was thrown off the ladder by the executioner*.

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before ſentence of *forfaulture* was pronounced againſt him. For the ſame reaſon the bodies of Gowrie and his brother were preſerved, in order that they might be produced in parliament. Logan's bones, in compliance with the ſame rule, were dug up. Mackenz. Crim. Law, book i. tit. 6. § 22.

* It appears that archbiſhop Spotſwood was preſent at the execution of Sprot, *Grom.* 115. and yet he ſeems to have given no credit to his diſcoveries. The manner in which he ſpeaks of him is remarkable. "Whether or not I ſhould mention the arraignment and execution of George Sprot, who ſuffered at Edinburgh, I am doubtful. His confeſſion, though voluntary and conſtant, carrying ſmall probability. The man depoſed, &c. It ſeemed to be a very fiction, and a mere invention of the man's own brain, for neither did he ſhew the letter, nor could any wiſe man think that Gowrie, who went about the treaſon ſo ſecretly, would have communicated the matter to ſuch a man as Logan was known to be." p. 508. Spotſwood could not be ignorant of the ſolemnity with which Logan had been tried, and of the proof brought of the authenticity of his letters. He himſelf was probably preſent in parliament at the trial. The earl of Dunbar, of whom he always ſpeaks with the higheſt reſpect, was the perſon who directed the proceſs againſt Logan. Such a peremptory declaration againſt the truth of Sprot's evidence, notwithſtanding all theſe circumſtances is ſurpriſing. Sir Thomas Hamilton, the king's advocate at that time, and afterwards earl of Haddington, repreſents the proof produced at Logan's trial as extremely convincing, and in an original letter of his to the king, the 21ſt of June 1609, (in

But though it be thus unexpectedly discovered that Gowrie did not act without associates, little additional light is thrown by this discovery on the motives and intention of his conduct. It appears almost incredible that two young men of such distinguished virtue should revolt all at once from their duty, and attempt a crime so atrocious, as the murder of their sovereign. It appears still more improbable that they should have concerted their undertaking with so little foresight and prudence. If they intended that the deed should have remained concealed, they could not have chosen a more improper scene for executing it than their own house. If they intended that Henderson should have struck the blow, they could not have pitched on a man more destitute of the courage that must direct the hand of an assassin; nor could they expect that he, unsolicited, and unacquainted with their purpose, would venture on such a desperate action. If Ruthven meant to stab the king with his own hand, why did he withdraw the dagger, after it was pointed at his breast? How could he leave the king, after such a plain declaration of his intention? Was it not preposterous to commit him to the keeping of such a timid and false associate as Henderson? For what purpose did he waste time, in binding the arms of an unarmed man, whom he might easily have despatched with the sword? Had Providence permitted them to embrue their hands in the blood of their sovereign, what advan-

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Bibl. Facult. Jurid.) after mentioning the manner in which the trial had been conducted, he thus goes on:

"When the probation of the summons was referred to the lords of articles votes, they found uniformly all in one voice, the said summons to be so clearly proved, that they seemed to contend who should be able most zealously to express the satisfaction of his heart, not only by the most pithy words, but by tears of joy; diverse of the best rank confessing, that that whereof they doubted at their entry into the house was now so manifest, that they behoved to esteem them traitors who should any longer refuse to declare their assured resolution of the truth of that treason."

tage could have accrued to them by his death? and what claims or pretenſions could they have oppoſed to the rights of his children*? Inevitable and inſtant vengeance, together with perpetual infamy, were the only conſequences they could expect to follow ſuch a crime.

On the other hand, it is impoſſible to believe that the king had formed any deſign againſt the life of the two brothers. They had not incurred his indignation by any crime; and were in no degree the objects of his jealouſy or hatred†; nor was he of a ſpirit ſo ſanguinary,

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* It has been aſſerted, that in conſequence of the king's death, the earl of Gowrie might have pretended to the crown of England, as the ſon of Dorothea Stewart, daughter of lord Methven by Margaret of England, who, after her divorce from the earl of Angus, took that nobleman for her third huſband. Burnet, Hiſt. of his own Times. But this aſſertion is ill founded. It appears, from undoubted evidence, that lord Methven had only one child by queen Margaret, which died in its infancy, and Dorothea lady Ruthven was not the daughter of queen Margaret, but of Janet Stewart, lord Methven's ſecond wife, a daughter of John earl of Athol. Crawf. Peer. 329. And though Gowrie had really been deſcended from the blood-royal of England, the king at that time had a ſon and a daughter: and beſides them, lady Arabella Stewart, daughter of Charles earl of Lennox, had a preferable title to the crown of England.

† Sir Henry Neville, in a letter to Sir Ralph Winwood, imputes the death of the two brothers to a cauſe not mentioned by any of our hiſtorians. "Out of Scotland we hear that there is no good agreement, but rather an open diffidence betwixt the king and his wife, and many are of opinion that the diſcovery of ſome affection between her and the earl of Gowrie's brother (who was killed with him) was the trueſt cauſe and motive of that tragedy." Winw. Mem. vol. i. 274. Whether the following paſſages in Nicholſon's letter be any confirmation of that ſuſpicion, is ſubmitted to the read-

or ſo noted for raſh and deſperate valour, as to have attempted to murder them in their own houſe, where they were ſurrounded with many domeſtics, he only with a ſlender and unarmed train; where they could call to their aſſiſtance the inhabitants of a city, at the devotion of their family, while he was at a diſtance from all aid; and leaſt of all would he have choſen for his aſſociates in ſuch an enterpriſe, the earl of Mar and the duke of Lennox, the former connected in cloſe friendſhip with the houſe of Gowrie, and the latter married to one of the earl's ſiſters.

Whichſoever of theſe oppoſite ſyſtems we embrace; whether we impute the intention of murder to Gowrie or to the king, inſuperable difficulties ariſe, and we are involved in darkneſs, myſtery, and contradiction. Perhaps the ſource of the whole conſpiracy ought to be ſearched for deeper, and by deriving it from a more remote cauſe we may diſcover it to be leſs criminal.

To keep the king of Scots in continual dependence, was one great object of Elizabeth's policy. In order to this, ſhe ſometimes ſoothed him, and ſometimes bribed

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er. In his letter, Sept. 22, 1602, he mentions the return of Gowrie's two younger brothers into Scotland, and adds, "The coming in of theſe two and the queen of Scots dealing with them, and ſending away and furniſhing Mrs. Beatrix [their ſiſter] with ſuch information as ſir Thomas Erſkine has given, hath bred great ſuſpicion in the king of Scots, that they came not in but upon ſome dangerous plot." In another letter, January 1, 1603. "The day of writing my laſt, Mrs. Beatrix Ruthven was brought by the lady Paiſly and Mrs. of Angus, as one of their gentlewomen, into the court in the evening, and ſtowed in a chamber prepared for her by the queen's direction, where the queen had much time and conference with her. Of this the king got notice, and ſhewed his diſlike thereof to the queen, gently reproving her for it, and examining quietly of the queen's ſervants of the ſame, and of other matters thereunto belonging, with ſuch diſcretion and ſecrecy as requires ſuch a matter."

his miniſters and favourites; and when ſhe failed of attaining her end by theſe means, ſhe encouraged the clergy to render any adminiſtration which ſhe diſtruſted unpopular, by decrying it, or ſtirred up ſome faction of the nobles to oppoſe and to overturn it. In that fierce age, men little acquainted with the arts of undermining a miniſtry by intrigue, had recourſe to the ruder practice of rendering themſelves maſters of the king's perſon, that they might thereby obtain the direction of his councils. Thoſe nobles, who ſeized the king at the *Raid of Ruthven*, were inſtigated and ſupported by her. Bothwell, in all his wild attempts, enjoyed her protection, and when they miſcarried, he was ſecure of retreat in her dominions. The connexions which James had been forming of late with the Roman catholic princes, his ſecret negotiations in England with her ſubjects, and the maxims by which he governed his own kingdom, all contributed to excite her jealouſy. She dreaded ſome great revolution in Scotland to be approaching, and it was her intereſt to prevent it. The earl of Gowrie was one of the moſt powerful of the Scottiſh nobles, and deſcended from anceſtors warmly attached to the Engliſh intereſt. He had adopted the ſame ſyſtem, and believed the welfare of his country to be inſeparably connected with the ſubſiſtence of the alliance between the two kingdoms. During his reſidence at Paris, he had contracted an intimate friendſhip with Sir Henry Neville, the queen's ambaſſador there, and was recommended by him to his court, as a perſon of whom great uſe might be made. Elizabeth received him, as he paſſed through England, with diſtinguiſhed marks of reſpect and favour. From all theſe circumſtances a ſuſpicion may ariſe, that the plan of the conſpiracy againſt the king was formed at that time, in concert with her. Such a ſuſpicion prevailed in that age, and from the letters of Nicholſon, Elizabeth's agent in Scotland it appears not to be deſtitute of foundation. An Engliſh ſhip was obſerved hovering, for ſome time, in the mouth of the frith of Forth. The earl's two younger brothers fled into England after the ill ſucceſs of the conſpiracy, and were protected by Elizabeth. James himſelf, tho'

he prudently concealed it, took great umbrage at her behaviour. None, however, of Elizabeth's intrigues in Scotland tended to hurt the king's perſon, but only to circumſcribe his authority, and to thwart his ſchemes. His life was the ſureſt ſafeguard of her own, and reſtrained the popiſh pretenders to her crown, and their abettors, from deſperate attempts, to which their impatience and bigotry might, otherwiſe have urged them on. To have encouraged Gowrie to murder his ſovereign, would, on her part, have been an act of the utmoſt imprudence. Nor does this ſeem to have been the intention of the two brothers. Mr. Ruthven, firſt of all, endeavoured to decoy the king to Perth, without any attendants. When theſe proved more numerous than was expected, the earl employed a ſtratagem in order to ſeparate them from the king, by pretending that he rode away towards Falkland, and by calling haſtily for their horſes that they might follow him. By their ſhutting James up, mean while, in a diſtant corner of the houſe, and by attempting to bind his hands, their deſign ſeems to have been rather to ſeize than to aſſaſſinate him. Though Gowrie had not collected his followers in ſuch numbers as to have been able to detain him long a priſoner, in that part of the kingdom, by open force he might ſoon have been conveyed aboard the Engliſh ſhip, which waited perhaps to receive him, and he might have been landed at Faſt-caſtle, a houſe of Logan's, in which, according to many obſcure hints in his letters, ſome rendezvous of the conſpirators was to be held. Amidſt the ſurpriſe and terror, into which the king muſt have been thrown by the violence offered to him, it was extremely natural for him to conclude that his life was ſought. It was the intereſt of all his followers to confirm him in this belief, and to magnify his danger, in order to add to the importance and merit of their own ſervices. Thus his fear, and their vanity, aided by the credulity and wonder which the contemplation of any great and tragical event, when not fully underſtood, is apt to inſpire, augmented the whole tranſaction. On the other hand, the extravagance and impro-

bability of the circumſtances which were added, detracted from the credit of thoſe which really happened; and even furniſhed pretences for calling in queſtion the truth of the whole conſpiracy.

The account of what had happened at Perth reached Edinburgh next morning. The privy-council commanded the miniſters of that city inſtantly to aſſemble their people; and after relating to them the circumſtances of the conſpiracy formed againſt the king's life, to return public thanks to God, for the protection which he had ſo viſibly afforded him. But as the firſt accounts tranſmitted to Edinburgh, written in a hurry, and while the circumſtances of the conſpiracy were but imperfectly known, and the paſſions which it excited ſtrongly felt, were indiſtinct, exaggerated, and contradictory, the miniſters laid hold of this; and though they offered to give public thanks to God for the king's ſafety, they refuſed to enter into any detail of particulars, or to utter from the chair of truth, what appeared to be ſtill dubious and uncertain.

A few days after, the king returned to Edinburgh, and though Galloway, the miniſter of his own chapel, made an harangue to the people at the public croſs, in which he recited all the circumſtances of the conſpiracy; though James himſelf, in their hearing, confirmed his account; though he commanded a narrative of the whole tranſaction to be publiſhed; the miniſters of that city, as well as many of their brethren, ſtill continued incredulous and unconvinced. Their high eſteem of Gowrie, their jealouſy of every part of the king's conduct, added to ſome falſe and many improbable circumſtances in the narrative, not only led them to ſuſpect the whole, but gave their ſuſpicions an air of credibility. But at length, the king, partly by arguments, partly by threats, prevailed on all of them, except Mr. Robert Bruce, to own that they were convinced of the truth of the conſpiracy. He could be brought no farther than to declare, that he reverenced the king's account of the tranſaction, but could not ſay that he himſelf was perſuaded of the truth of it. The ſcruples or obſtinacy of a ſingle man would have

been little regarded; but as the ſame ſpirit of incredulity began to ſpread among the people, the example of one in ſo high reputation for integrity and abilities was extremely dangerous. The king was at the utmoſt pains to convince and to gain Bruce; but finding it impoſſible to remove his doubts, he deprived him of his benefice, and after repeated delays, and many attempts towards a reconcilement, baniſhed him the kingdom.

The proceedings of parliament were not retarded by any ſcruples of this ſort. The dead bodies of the two brothers were produced there, according to law; an indictment for high treaſon was preferred againſt them; witneſſes were examined: and by an unanimous ſentence, their eſtates and honours were forfeited; the puniſhment due to traitors was inflicted on their dead bodies; and, as if the puniſhment hitherto in uſe did not expreſs ſufficient deteſtation of their crimes, the parliament enacted that the ſurname of Ruthven ſhould be aboliſhed, and in order to preſerve the memory of the king's miraculous eſcape, and to declare the ſenſe which the nation had of the divine goodneſs to all future ages, appointed the fifth of Auguſt to be obſerved annually, as a day of public thankſgiving*.

* A few weeks after the death of the two brothers, the king publiſhed a diſcourſe of their vile and unnatural conſpiracy againſt his life. In the year 1713, George earl of Cromartie publiſhed an "Hiſtorical account of the conſpiracy by the earl of Gowrie, and Robert Logan of Reſtalrig, againſt king James VI." He ſeems not to have ſeen the account which the king himſelf had given of that matter, and borrows the whole hiſtorical part from Spotſwood and other authors; but he has extracted from the public records the depoſitions of the witneſſes produced by the king's council, in order to make good the charge againſt the two brothers, and Logan their aſſociate. From theſe two treatiſes our knowledge of all the material circumſtances of the conſpiracy is derived. The evidence which they contain one would expect to be authentic and deciſive. An ac-

Though Gowrie's conſpiracy occaſioned a ſudden and a great alarm, it was followed by no conſequences

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count of a fact, ſtill recent; publiſhed by royal authority, and the original depoſitions of perſons examined in preſence of the higheſt court in the nation, ought to convey a degree of evidence ſeldom contained in hiſtorical relations, and to exclude all remaining doubt and uncertainty. But as every thing with regard to this tranſaction is dark and problematical, the king's account and the depoſitions of the witneſſes not only vary but contradict each other, in ſo many circumſtances, that much room is ſtill left for heſitation and hiſtorical ſcepticiſm. The teſtimony of Henderſon is the fulleſt and moſt important; but in ſeveral particulars the king's account and his are contradictory. I. According to the king's account, while Mr. Ruthven was holding the dagger at his breaſt, "the fellow in the ſtudy ſtood quaking and trembling." Diſc. 17. But Henderſon ſays that he himſelf wreſted the dagger out of Mr. Ruthven's hands. Diſc. 53. Crom. 50. Henderſon likewiſe boaſted to his wife that he had that day twice ſaved the king from being ſtabbed. Diſc. 54. Crom. 53. II. The king aſſerts that Henderſon opened the window during Mr. Ruthven's abſence, Diſc. 25. Henderſon depoſes, that he was only attempting to open it when Mr. Ruthven returned, and that during the ſtruggle between the king and him, he opened it. Diſc. 53, 54. Crom. 51, 52. III. If we may believe the king, the fellow in the ſtudy ſtood, during the ſtruggle, behind the king's back, inactive and trembling all the time. Diſc. 27. But Henderſon affirms, that he ſnatched away the garter with which Mr. Ruthven attempted to bind the king; that he pulled back Mr. Ruthven's hand, while he was endeavouring to ſtop the king's mouth, and that he opened the window. Diſc. 54. Crom. 52. IV. By the king's account, Mr. Ruthven left him in the ſtudy, and went away in order to meet with his brother, and that the earl came up the ſtairs for the ſame purpoſe. Diſc. 23. Henderſon depoſes, that when Mr. Ruthven left the king, "he believes that he

of importance, and having been concerted by the two brothers, either without any aſſociates, or with ſuch as were unknown, and choſe to remain ſo, the danger was over as ſoon as diſcovered. But not long after, a conſpiracy broke out in England againſt Elizabeth, which, though the firſt danger was inſtantly diſpelled,

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did not paſs from the door." Crom. 51. It is apparent both from the ſituation of the houſe, and from other circumſtances that there could not poſſibly have been any interview between the brothers at this time. Diſc. 23.

Henderſon was twice examined, firſt at Falkland before the privy-council in Auguſt, and next at Edinburgh before the parliament in November. Not to mention ſome leſſer variations between theſe depoſitions, we ſhall point out two which are remarkable. In his firſt depoſition, Mr. Henderſon relates the moſt material circumſtance of the whole in theſe words: "Mr. Ruthven pulled out the deponent's dagger, and held the ſame to his majeſty's breaſt, ſaying, "*Remember you of my father's murder; you ſhall now die for it:*" and pointing to his highneſs's heart with the dagger, the deponent, threw the ſame out of Mr. Ruthven's hands, and ſwore, that as God ſhould judge his ſoul, that if Mr. Ruthven had retained the dagger in his hand, the ſpace a man may go ſix ſteps, he would have ſtricken the king to the hilts with it." Diſc. 52. But at his ſecond examination he varied from this in two material circumſtances, Firſt, the words he at that time put in Mr. Ruthven's mouth while he held the dagger at the king's breaſt, are, "*Sir, you muſt be my priſoner; remember on my father's death.*" Secondly when he threatened him with death, it was only to deter him from making any noiſe, "*Hold your tongue, or by Chriſt you ſhall die.*" 2. In his firſt depoſition, the words of Mr. Ruthven, when he returned to the chamber where he had left the king, are, "*There is no remedy, by God you muſt die.*" But in his ſecond depoſition, "By God there is no remedy, and offered to bind his majeſty's hands." Crom. 51.

produced tragical effects, that rendered the close of that queen's reign dismal and unhappy. As James was deeply interested in that event, it merits our particular notice.

The court of England was at this time divided between two powerful factions, which contended for the supreme direction of affairs. The leader of the one was Robert D'Evreux, earl of Essex; Sir Robert Cecil, the son of lord treasurer Burleigh, was at the head of the other. The former was the most accomplished and the most popular of all the English nobles; brave, generous, affable; though impetuous, yet willing to listen to the counsels of those whom he loved; an avowed,

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the material words *you must die* are omitted. The first deposition seems plainly to intimate that it was Ruthven's intention to murder the king. The second would lead us to conclude that he had no other design than to detain him as a prisoner.

There are likewise some remarkable contradictions in the testimonies of the other witnesses. 1. In the discourse published by authority, it is insinuated that the tumult of the inhabitants was raised against the king, and that it required some art to pacify them. Disc. 32. The duke of Lennox confirms this in his deposition. Crom. 44. An act of privy-council summoning the magistrates of Perth to answer for that riot is still extant. And yet Andrew Roy, one of the bailies of the town, deposes that he himself raised the people, and that they took arms in order to assist the king. Crom. 66. 2. Henderson deposes, that he gave an evasive answer to Mr. John Moncrief, who enquired where he had been that morning, because the earl had commanded him not to let any man know that he had been at Falkland. Disc. 54. Moncrief deposes to the same purpose. Crom. 64. And yet George Hay, afterwards lord Kinnoul, and chancellor of Scotland, and Peter Hay, depose, that the earl, in their presence, asked Henderson, "Whom he found with the king at Falkland?" Crom. 70, 71. Which question seems to prove that he did not aim at keeping that journey a secret.

but not an implacable enemy; a friend no leſs conſtant than warm; incapable of diſguiſing his own ſentiments, or of miſrepreſenting thoſe of others; better fitted for the camp than for the court; and of a genius that qualified him for the firſt place in the adminiſtration, with a ſpirit which ſcorned the ſecond as below his merit. He was ſoon diſtinguiſhed by the queen, who, with a profuſion uncommon to her, conferred on him, even in his earlieſt youth, the higheſt honours, and moſt important offices. Nor did this diminiſh the eſteem and affection of his countrymen; but, by a rare felicity, he was at once the favourite of his ſovereign, and the darling of the people. Cecil, on the other hand, educated in a court, and trained under a father deeply ſkilled in all its arts, was crafty, inſinuating, induſtrious; and though poſſeſſed of talents which fitted him for the higheſt offices, he did not rely upon his merit alone for attaining them, but availed himſelf of every advantage, which his own addreſs, or the miſtakes of others afforded him. Two ſuch men were formed to be rivals and enemies. Eſſex deſpiſed the arts of Cecil as low and baſe. To Cecil the earl's, magnanimity appeared to be preſumption and folly. All the military men, except Raleigh, favoured Eſſex. Moſt of the courtiers adhered to Cecil, whoſe manners more nearly reſembled their own.

As Elizabeth advanced in years, the ſtruggle between theſe factions became more violent. Eſſex, in order to ſtrengthen himſelf, had early courted the friendſhip of the king of Scots, for whoſe right of ſucceſſion he was a zealous advocate, and held a cloſe correſpondence both with him and with his principal miniſters. Cecil, devoted to the queen alone, roſe daily to new honours, by the aſſiduity of his ſervices, and the patience with which he expected the reward of them; while the earl's high ſpirit and impetuoſity ſometimes expoſed him to checks from a miſtreſs, who, though partial in her affection toward him, could not eaſily bear contradiction, and conferred favours often unwillingly, and always ſlowly. His own ſolicitations, however, ſeconded maliciouſly by his enemies, who wiſhed to

remove him at a diſtance from court, advanced him to the command of the army employed in Ireland againſt Tyronne, and to the office of lord lieutenant of that kingdom with a commiſſion almoſt unlimited. His ſucceſs in that expedition did not equal either his own promiſes, or the expectations of Elizabeth. The queen, peeviſh from her diſappointment, and exaſperated againſt Eſſex by the artifices of his enemies, wrote him a harſh letter, full of accuſations and reproaches. Theſe his impatient ſpirit could not bear, and, in the firſt tranſports of his reſentment, he propoſed to carry over a part of his army into England, and by driving his enemies from the queen's preſence, to reinſtate himſelf in favour and in power. But, upon more mature thoughts, he abandoned this raſh deſign, and, ſetting ſail with a few officers devoted to his perſon, landed in England, and poſted directly to court. Elizabeth received him without any ſympton either of affection or of diſpleaſure. By proper compliances and acknowledgments, he might have regained his former aſcendant over the queen. But he thought himſelf too deeply injured to ſubmit to theſe. Elizabeth, on the other hand, determined to ſubdue his haughty temper; and though her ſeverity drew from him the moſt humble letters, ſhe confined him to the lord keeper's houſe, and appointed commiſſioners to try him, both for his conduct during his government of Ireland, and for leaving that kingdom without her permiſſion. By their ſentence, he was ſuſpended from all his offices, except that of maſter of the horſe, and continued a priſoner during the queen's pleaſure. Satisfied with having mortified his pride thus far, Elizabeth did not ſuffer the ſentence to be recorded, and ſoon after allowed him to retire to his own houſe. During theſe tranſactions, which occupied ſeveral months, Eſſex fluctuated between the allegiance he owed to his ſovereign, and the deſire of revenge; and ſometimes leaned to the one, and ſometimes to the other. In one of the intervals when the latter prevailed, he ſent a meſſenger into Scotland, to encourage the king to aſſert his own right to the ſucceſſion by force of arms, and to promiſe that, beſides the aſſiſtance of

the earl and all his friends in England, lord Mountjoy, now lord lieutenant of Ireland, would join him with five thouſand from that kingdom. But James did not chooſe to hazard the loſing a kingdom, which was juſt ready to fall into his hands by a premature attempt to ſeize it. Mountjoy, too, declined the enterpriſe, and Eſſex adopted more dutiful ſchemes; all thoughts of ambition appearing to be totally effaced out of his mind.

This moderation, which was merely the effect of diſguſt and diſappointment, was not of long continuance; and the queen, having not only refuſed to renew a lucrative grant which ſhe had formerly beſtowed, but to admit him into her preſence, that new injury drove a temper naturally impatient, and now much fretted, to abſolute deſpair. His friends, inſtead of ſoothing his rage or reſtraining his impetuoſity, added to both by their imprudent and intereſted zeal. After many anxious conſultations, he determined to attempt to redreſs his wrongs by violence. And conſcious how unpopular ſuch an enterpriſe would be, if it appeared to proceed from motives of private revenge alone, he endeavoured to give it the ſemblance of public utility, by mingling the king of Scotland's intereſt with his own. He wrote to James, that the faction which now predominated in the Engliſh court had reſolved to ſupport the pretenſions of the infanta of Spain to the crown; that the places of the greateſt importance in the kingdom were put into the hands of his avowed enemies; and that unleſs he ſent ambaſſadors, without delay, to aſſiſt on the immediate declaration of his right of ſucceſſion, their meaſures were ſo well concerted, that all his hopes would be deſperate. James, who knew how diſagreeable ſuch a propoſal would be to the queen of England, was not willing raſhly to expoſe himſelf to her diſpleaſure. But Eſſex, blinded by reſentment, and impatient for revenge, abandoned himſelf to theſe paſſions, and acted like a man guided with frenzy and deſpair. With two or three hundred followers incompletely armed, he attempted to aſſault a throne the beſt eſtabliſhed in Europe. Sallying at their head out of his own houſe, he

called on the citizens of London, if they either valued his life, or wiſhed to preſerve the kingdom from the dominion of the Spaniards, to take arms, and to follow his ſtandard. He advanced towards the palace with an intention to drive Cecil and his faction out of the queen's preſence, and to obtain a declaration of the Scottiſh king's right of ſucceſſion*. But, though almoſt adored by the citizens, not a man would join him in this wild enterpriſe. Diſpirited by their indifference, deſerted by ſome of his own attendants, and almoſt ſurrounded by the troops which marched under different leaders into the city, he retreated to his own houſe; and without any bold effort, ſuitable to his preſent condition, or worthy of his former reputation for courage, he ſurrendered to his enemies.

As ſoon as James heard of Eſſex's ill ſucceſs, he appointed the earl of Mar, and the abbot of Kinloſs, to repair as his ambaſſadors to the court of England. The former of theſe was the perſon by whoſe means Eſſex had carried on his correſpondence with the king. He was a paſſionate admirer of the earl's character, and diſpoſed to attempt every thing that could contribute to his ſafety. Bruce, united in a cloſe friendſhip with Mar, was ready to ſecond him with equal zeal. Nor was the purpoſe of the embaſſy leſs friendly to Eſſex, than the choice of his ambaſſadors; they were commanded to ſolicit, in the warmeſt manner, for the earl's life, and if they found that the king, by avowing his friends, could either promote their deſigns or contribute to their ſafety, they were empowered to lay aſide all diſguiſe, and to promiſe that he would put himſelf at their head, and claim what was due to him by force of arms†. But before the ambaſſadors could reach London, Eſſex had ſuffered the puniſhment which he merited by his treaſon. Perhaps, the fear of their interpoſing, in order to obtain his pardon, haſtened his death. Elizabeth, continued for ſome time, irreſolute concerning his fate, and could not bring herſelf to con-

* Birch, Mem. ii. 477. † Johnſt. 289. Birch. Mem. ii. 510.

ſign into the hands of the executioner, a man who had once poſſeſſed her favour ſo entirely, without a painful ſtruggle between her reſentment againſt his late miſconduct, and her ancient affection towards him. The diſtreſs to which he was now reduced, tended naturally to ſoften the former, while it revived the latter with new tenderneſs: and the interceſſion of one faithful friend, might perhaps have ſaved his life, and have procured him a remiſſion, which, of herſelf, the queen was aſhamed to grant. But this generous nobleman had at that time no ſuch friend. Elizabeth, ſolicited inceſſantly by her miniſters, and offended with the haughtineſs of Eſſex, who, as ſhe imagined, ſcorned to ſue for pardon, at laſt commanded the ſentence to be put in execution. No ſooner was the blow ſtruck than ſhe repented of her own raſhneſs, and bewailed his death with the deepeſt ſorrow. James always conſidered him as one who had fallen a martyr to his ſervice, and, after his acceſſion to the Engliſh throne, reſtored his ſon to his honours, as well as all his aſſociates in the conſpiracy, and diſtinguiſhed them with his favour *.

The Scottiſh ambaſſadors, finding that they had arrived too late to execute the chief buſineſs committed to their charge, not only concealed that part of their inſtructions with the utmoſt care; but congratulated the queen, in their maſter's name, on her happy eſcape from ſuch an audacious conſpiracy. Elizabeth, though no ſtranger to the king's correſpondence with Eſſex, or to that nobleman's intentions of aſſerting James's right to the crown was not willing that theſe ſhould be known to the people, and, for that reaſon, received the congratulations of the Scottiſh ambaſſadors with all poſſible marks of credit and good-will; and in order to ſoothe James, and to preſerve the appearances of union between the two courts, increaſed the ſubſidy which ſhe paid him annually. The ambaſſadors reſided for ſome time in England, and were employed, with great

* Camd. Spotſw. 464.

ſucceſs, in renewing and extending the intrigues which Bruce had formerly entered into with the Engliſh nobles. As Elizabeth advanced in years, the Engliſh turned their eyes more and more towards Scotland, and were eager to prevent each other in courting the favour of their future monarch. Aſſurances of attachment, profeſſions of regard, and promiſes of ſupport, were offered to James from every corner of the kingdom. Cecil himſelf, perceiving what hopes Eſſex had founded on the friendſhip of the Scottiſh king, and what advantages he might have derived from it, thought it prudent to ſtand no longer at a diſtance from a prince, who might ſo ſoon become his maſter. But being ſenſible at the ſame time how dangerous ſuch an intercourſe might prove, under a miſtreſs naturally jealous, and whoſe jealouſy grew ſtronger with old age; though he entered into a correſpondence with him, he carried it on with all the ſecrecy and caution, neceſſary in his ſituation, and peculiar to his character. And James having gained the man whoſe oppoſition and influence he had hitherto chiefly dreaded, waited in perfect ſecurity, till that event ſhould happen, which would open his way to the throne of England. It was with ſome difficulty, that he reſtrained within proper bounds his adherents in that kingdom who, labouring to diſtinguiſh themſelves by that officious zeal with which a prince, who has a near proſpect of mounting the throne, is always ſerved, urged him to allow a motion to be made in parliament for declaring his right of ſucceſſion to the crown. James prudently diſcouraged that deſign; but it was with no ſmall ſatisfaction that he obſerved the aſcendent he was acquiring in a court whoſe dictates he had been ſo long obliged to obey; and which had either preſcribed or thwarted every ſtep he had taken during the whole courſe of his reign *.

Notwithſtanding the violent ſtruggles of the political factions which divided the court, and the frequent revolutions which had happened there, ſince the king firſt took the reins of government into his own hands, Scot-

* Spotſw. 467, 471. Birch. Mem. ii. 514.

land had enjoyed unuſual tranquillity; being undiſturbed by any foreign enemy, and free from any inteſtine commotion of long continuance. During this period, James endeavoured to civilize the Highlands and the Iſles, a part of his dominions almoſt totally neglected by former monarchs, though the reformation of it was an object highly worthy of their care. The long peace with England had offered an opportunity of ſubduing the licentious ſpirit of the borderers, and of reſtraining their depredations, often no leſs ruinous to their countrymen than to their enemies. The inhabitants of the low country began, gradually to forget the uſe of arms, and to become attentive to the arts of peace. But the Highlanders, retaining their natural fierceneſs, averſe from labour, and inured to rapine, infeſted their more induſtrious neighbours by their continual incurſions. James, being ſolicitous not only to repreſs their inroads, but to render them uſeful ſubjects, had at different times enacted many wiſe laws extremely conducive to theſe ends. All landlords, or chiefs of clans, were enjoined to permit no perſons to reſide on their eſtates, who could not find ſufficient ſurety for their good behaviour; they were required to make a liſt of all ſuſpicious perſons under their juriſdiction, to bind themſelves to deliver them up to juſtice, and to indemnify thoſe who ſhould ſuffer by their robberies; and in order to aſcertain the faithful performance of theſe articles, the chiefs themſelves were obliged to give hoſtages to the king, or to put pledges in his hands. Three towns, which might ſerve as a retreat for the induſtrious, and a nurſery for arts and commerce, were appointed to be built in different parts of the Highlands; one in Cantire, another in Lochaber, and a third in the iſle of Lewis; and, in order to draw inhabitants thither, all the privileges of royal boroughs were to be conferred upon them. Finding it, however, to be no eaſy matter to inſpire the natives of thoſe countries with the love of induſtry, a reſolution was taken to plant among them colonies of people from the more induſtrious counties. The firſt experiment was made in the iſle of Lewis, and as

it was advantageouſly ſituate for the fiſhing trade, a ſource from which Scotland ought naturally to derive great wealth, the colony tranſported thither was drawn out of Fife, the inhabitants of which were well ſkilled in that branch of commerce. But before they had remained there long enough to manifeſt the good effects of this inſtitution, the iſlanders enraged at ſeeing their country occupied by thoſe intruders, took arms and ſurpriſing them in the night-time, murdered ſome of them, and compelled the reſt to abandon the ſettlement. The king's attention being ſoon after turned to other objects, we hear no more of this ſalutary project. Though James did not purſue the deſign with that ſteady application and perſeverance, without which it is impoſſible to change the manners of a whole people, he had the glory, however, not only of having firſt conceived the thoughts, but of having firſt pointed out the proper method of introducing the civil arts of life into that part of the iſland.

After having long enjoyed a good ſtate of health, the effect of a ſound conſtitution, and the reward of uncommon regularity and temperance, Elizabeth began this winter to feel her vigour decreaſe, and to be ſenſible of the infirmities of old age. Having removed on a very ſtormy day from Weſtminſter to Richmond, whether ſhe was impatient to retire, her complaints increaſed. She had no formed fever; her pulſe was good; but ſhe eat little, and could not ſleep. Her diſtemper ſeemed to proceed from a deep melancholy, which appeared both in her countenance and behaviour. She delighted in ſolitude, ſhe ſat conſtantly in the dark; and was often drowned in tears.

No ſooner was the queen's indiſpoſition known than perſons of all ranks, and of all different ſects and parties, redoubled their application to the king of Scots, and vied with each other in profeſſions of attachment to his perſon, and in promiſes of ſubmiſſion to his government. Even ſome of her own ſervants, weary of the length of her reign, fond of novelty, impatient to get rid of the burden of gratitude for paſt benefits, and expecting to ſhare in the liberality of a new prince,

began to desert her: and crowds of people hurried towards Scotland, eager to pre-occupy the favour of the successor, or afraid of being too late in paying homage to him.

Mean while, the queen's disease increased, and her melancholy appeared to be settled and incurable. Various conjectures were formed concerning the causes of a disorder, from which she seemed to be exempted by the natural chearfulness of her temper. Some imputed it to her being forced contrary to her inclination, to pardon the earl of Tyronne, whose rebellion had for many years created her much trouble. Others imagined that it arose from observing the ingratitude of her courtiers and the levity of her people who beheld her health declining with most indecent indifference, and looked forward to the accession of the Scottish king, with an impatience which they could not conceal. The most common opinion at that time, and perhaps the most probable, was, that it flowed from grief for the earl of Essex. She retained an extraordinary regard for the memory of that unfortunate nobleman; and though she often complained of his obstinacy, seldom mentioned his name without tears *. An accident happened soon after her retiring to Richmond, which revived her affection with new tenderness, and embittered her sorrows. The countess of Nottingham being on her death-bed, desired to see the queen, in order to reveal something to her, without discovering which, she could not die in peace. When the queen came into her chamber, she told her, that while Essex lay under sentence of death, he was desirous of imploring pardon in the manner which the queen herself had prescribed by returning a ring, which during the height of his favour she had given him, with a promise that if, in any future distress, he sent that back to her as a token, it should entitle him to her protection; that lady Scroop was the person he intended to employ in order to present it; that, by a mistake,

* Birch, Mem. ii. 505.

it was put into her hands inſtead of lady Scroop's; and that ſhe having communicated the matter to her huſband one of Eſſex's moſt implacable enemies, he had forbid her either to carry the ring to the queen, or to return it to the earl. The counteſs, having thus diſcloſed her ſecret, begged the queen's forgiveneſs; but Elizabeth, who now ſaw both the malice of the earl's enemies, and how unjuſtly ſhe had ſuſpected him of inflexible obſtinacy, replied, "God may forgive you, but I never can," and left the room in great emotion‡. From that moment, her ſpirit ſunk entirely; ſhe could ſcarce taſte food; ſhe refuſed all the medicines preſcribed her by her phyſicians; declaring that ſhe wiſhed to die,

‡ This anecdote concerning Elizabeth was firſt publiſhed by Oſborne, Mem. of Eliz. p. 23; is confirmed by the teſtimony of de Maurier, Mem. 260. and by the traditional evidence of lady Elizabeth Spelman, publiſhed by Dr. Birch, Negoc. 106. Camden mentions the queen's grief for Eſſex's death as one of the cauſes of her melancholy Some original papers remain, which prove that this was commonly believed at the time. Birch. Mem. ii. 506. But Eſſex had been beheaded two years before her death, and there ſeems to have been no other reaſon, but that which we have aſſigned, why her ſorrow ſhould revive with ſo much violence at ſo great a diſtance of time. As the death of the counteſs of Nottingham happened about a fortnight before the queen's death, the coincidence of theſe events, together with the other evidence mentioned, adds ſo much probability to the ſtory related by Oſborne, as will entitle it to a place in hiſtory. The only objection to the account we have given of Elizabeth's attachment to Eſſex, ariſes from her great age. At the age of 68, the amorous paſſions are commonly abundantly cool, and the violence of all the paſſions, except one, is much abated. But the force of this objection is entirely removed by an author who has illuſtrated many paſſages in the Engliſh hiſtory, and adorned more. Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, Article Eſſex.

and would live no longer. No intreaty could prevail on her to go to bed; ſhe ſat on cuſhions during ten days and nights, penſive and ſilent, holding her finger almoſt continually in her mouth, with her eyes open and fixed on the ground. The only thing to which ſhe ſeemed to give any attention were the acts of devotion performed in her apartment by the archbiſhop of Canterbury; and in theſe ſhe joined with great appearance of fervour. Waſted, at laſt, as well by anguiſh of mind, as by long abſtinence, ſhe expired, without a ſtruggle, on Thurſday the 24th day of March, 1603, in the 70th year of her age, and in the 45th of her reign *.

Foreigners often accuſe the Engliſh of indifference and diſrepect towards their princes. But without reaſon; no people are more grateful than they to thoſe monarchs who merit their gratitude. The names of Edward III. and Henry V. are mentioned by the Engliſh of this age with the ſame warmth as they were by thoſe who ſhared in the bleſſings and ſplendor of their reigns. The memory of Elizabeth is ſtill adored in England. The hiſtorians of that kingdom, after celebrating her love of her people; her ſagacity in diſcerning their true intereſt; her ſteadineſs in purſuing it; her wiſdom in the choice of her miniſters; the glory ſhe acquired by arms; the tranquillity ſhe ſecured to her ſubjects; and the increaſe of fame, of riches, and of commerce, which were the fruits of all theſe; juſtly rank her among the moſt illuſtrious princes. Even the defects in her character, they obſerve, were not of a kind pernicious to her people. Her exceſſive frugality was not accompanied with the love of hoarding; and though it prevented ſome great undertakings, and rendered the ſucceſs of others incomplete, it introduced economy into her adminiſtration, and exempted the nation from many burdens, which a monarch, more profuſe or more enterpriſing, muſt have impoſed. Her ſlowneſs in rewarding her ſervants ſometimes diſcou-

* Camd. Birch, Mem. ii. 506. Birch, Negoc. 206. Strype, iv. 373.

raged uſeful merit; but it prevented the undeſerving from acquiring power and wealth, to which they had no title. Her extreme jealouſy of thoſe princes who pretended to diſpute her right to the crown, led her to take ſuch precautions, as tended no leſs to the public ſafety, than to her own; and to court the affections of her own people, as the firmeſt ſupport of her throne. Such is the picture which the Engliſh draw of this great queen.

Whoever undertakes to write the hiſtory of Scotland, finds himſelf obliged, frequently, to view her in a very different, and in a leſs amiable light. Her authority in that kingdom, during the greater part of her reign, was little inferior to that which ſhe poſſeſſed in her own. But this authority, acquired at firſt by a ſervice of great importance to the nation, ſhe exerciſed in a manner extremely pernicious to its happineſs. By her induſtry in fomenting the rage of the two contending factions; by ſupplying the one with partial aid; by feeding the other with falſe hopes; by balancing their power ſo artfully, that each of them was able to diſtreſs, and neither of them to ſubdue the other; ſhe rendered Scotland long the ſeat of diſcord, confuſion, and bloodſhed: and her craft and intrigues, effecting what the valour of her anceſtors could not accompliſh, reduced that kingdom to a ſtate of dependence on England. The maxims of policy, often little conſonant to thoſe of morality, may, perhaps juſtify this conduct. But no apology can be offered for her behaviour to queen Mary; a ſcene of diſſimulation without neceſſity; and of ſeverity beyond example. In almoſt all her actions, Elizabeth is the object of our higheſt admiration; in this we muſt allow that ſhe not only laid aſide the magnanimity which became a queen, but the feelings natural to a woman.

Though Elizabeth would never permit the queſtion concerning the right of ſucceſſion to the crown to be determined in parliament; nor declare her own ſentiments concerning a point which ſhe wiſhed to remain an impenetrable myſtery; ſhe had, however, formed no deſign of excluding the Scottiſh king from an in-

heritance to which his title was undoubted. A ſhort time before her death, ſhe broke the ſilence which ſhe had ſo long preſerved on that ſubject, and told Cecil and the lord admiral, "That her throne was the throne of kings; that ſhe would have no mean perſon to aſcend it, and that her couſin the king of Scots ſhould be her ſucceſſor." This ſhe confirmed on her death-bed. As ſoon as ſhe breathed her laſt, the lords of the privy-council proclaimed James king of England. All the intrigues carried on by foreigners in favour of the infanta, all the cabals formed within the kingdom to ſupport the titles of lady Arabella and the earl of Hartford, diſappeared in a moment; the nobles and people, forgetting their ancient hoſtilities with Scotland, and their averſion for the dominion of ſtrangers, teſtified their ſatisfaction with louder acclamations than were uſual at the acceſſion of their native princes. Amidſt this tumult of joy, a motion made by a few patriots, who propoſed to preſcribe ſome conditions to the ſucceſſor, and to exact from him the redreſs of ſome grievances, before they called him to the throne, was ſcarce heard; and Cecil, by ſtifling it, added to his ſtock of merit with his new maſter. Sir Charles Piercy, brother of the earl of Northumberland, and Thomas Somerſet, the earl of Worceſter's ſon, were deſpatched to Scotland with a letter to the king, ſigned by all the peers and privy-counſellors then in London; informing him of the queen's death, of his acceſſion to the throne, of their care to recognize his title, and of the univerſal applauſe with which the public proclamation of it had been attended. They made the utmoſt haſte to deliver this welcome meſſage; but were prevented by the zeal of ſir Robert Carey, lord Hunſdon's youngeſt ſon, who ſetting out a few hours after Elizabeth's death, arrived at Edinburgh on Saturday night, juſt as the king had gone to bed. He was immediately admitted into the royal apartment, and kneeling by the king's bed, acquainted him with the death of Elizabeth, ſaluted him king of England, Scotland, France and Ireland; and as a token of the truth of the intelligence which he brought, preſented

him a ring, which his ſiſter lady Scroop had taken from the queen's finger after her death. James heard him with a decent compoſure. But as Carey was only a private meſſenger, the information which he brought was not made public, and the king kept his apartment till the arrival of Percy and Somerſet. Then his titles were ſolemnly proclaimed; and his own ſubjects expreſſed no leſs joy, than the Engliſh, at this increaſe of his dignity. As his preſence was abſolutely neceſſary in England, where the people were extremely impatient to ſee their new ſovereign, he prepared to ſet out for that kingdom without delay. He appointed his queen to follow him within a few weeks. He committed the government of Scotland to his privy-council. He intruſted the care of his children to different noblemen. On the Sunday before his departure, he repaired to the church of St. Giles, and after hearing a ſermon, in which the preacher diſplayed the greatneſs of the divine goodneſs in raiſing him to the throne of ſuch a powerful kingdom without oppoſition or bloodſhed, and exhorted him to expreſs his gratitude, by promoting, to the utmoſt, the happineſs and proſperity of his ſubjects; the king roſe up, and addreſſing himſelf to the people, made many profeſſions of unalterable affection towards them; promiſed frequently to viſit Scotland; aſſured them that his Scottiſh ſubjects, notwithſtanding his abſence, ſhould feel that he was their native prince, no leſs than when he reſided among them; and might ſtill truſt that his ears ſhould be always open to their petitions, which he would anſwer with the alacrity and love of a parent. His words were often interrupted by the tears of the whole audience; who, though they exulted at the king's proſperity, were melted into ſorrow by theſe tender declarations *.

On the 5th of April, 1603, he began his journey, with a ſplendid, but not a numerous train; and next day he entered Berwick. Wherever he came, immenſe multitudes were aſſembled to welcome him; and the

* Spotſw. 476.

principal perſons in the different counties through which he paſſed diſplayed all their wealth and magnificence in entertainments prepared for him at their houſes. Elizabeth had reigned ſo long in England, that moſt of her ſubjects remembered no other court but hers, and their notions of the manners and decorums ſuitable to a prince were formed upon what they had obſerved there. It was natural to apply this ſtandard to the behaviour and actions of their new monarch, and to compare him, at firſt ſight, with the queen, on whoſe throne he was to be placed. James, whoſe manners were extremely different from hers, ſuffered by the compariſon. He had not that flowing affability, by which Elizabeth captivated the hearts of her people; and, though eaſy among a few whom he loved, his indolence could not bear the fatigue of rendering himſelf agreeable to a mixed multitude. He was no leſs a ſtranger to that dignity with which Elizabeth tempered her familiarity. And, inſtead of that well-judged frugality with which ſhe conferred titles of honour, he beſtowed them with an undiſtinguiſhing profuſion, that rendered them no longer marks of diſtinction, or rewards of merit. But theſe were the reflections of the few alone; the multitude continued their acclamations; and amidſt theſe, James entered London on the 7th of May, 1603, and took peaceable poſſeſſion of the throne of England.

Thus were united two kingdoms, divided from the earlieſt accounts of time, but deſtined, by their ſituation, to form one great monarchy. By this junction of its whole native force, Great Britain has riſen to an eminence and authority in Europe, which England and Scotland never could have attained.

The Scots had ſo long conſidered their monarchs as next heirs to the Engliſh throne, that they had full leiſure to reflect on all the conſequences of their being advanced to that dignity. But, dazzled with the glory of giving a ſovereign to their powerful enemy, relying on the partiality of their native prince, and in full expectation of ſharing liberally in the wealth and honours he would now be able to beſtow, they attended little

to the moſt obvious conſequences of that great event, and rejoiced at his acceſſion to the throne of England, as if it had been no leſs beneficial to the kingdom, than honourable to the king. They ſoon had reaſon, however, to adopt very different ſentiments; and from that period we may date a total alteration in the political conſtitution of Scotland.

The feudal ariſtocracy, which had been ſubverted in moſt nations of Europe by the policy of their princes, or had been undermined by the progreſs of commerce, ſtill ſubſiſted with full force in Scotland. Many cauſes had contributed gradually to augment the power of the Scottiſh nobles; and even the Reformation, which, in every other country where it prevailed, added to the authority of the monarch, had increaſed their wealth and influence. A king poſſeſſed of a ſmall revenue, with a prerogative extremely limited, and unſupported by a ſtanding army, could not exerciſe much authority over ſuch potent ſubjects. He was obliged to govern by expedients; and the laws derived their force not from his power to execute them, but from the voluntary ſubmiſſion of the nobles. But though this produced a ſpecies of government feeble and irregular beyond example; though Scotland, under the name, and with all the outward enſigns of a monarchy, was really ſubject to an ariſtocracy, the people were not altogether unhappy; and even in this wild form of a conſtitution, there were principles, which tended to their ſecurity and advantage. The king, checked and overawed by the nobles, durſt venture upon no act of arbitrary power. The nobles, jealous of the king, whoſe claims and pretenſions were many, though his power was ſmall, were afraid of irritating their dependents by unreaſonable exactions, and tempered the rigour of ariſtocratical tyranny, with a mildneſs and equality to which it is naturally a ſtranger. And while the military genius of the feudal government remained in vigour, the vaſſals both of the crown and of the barons were generally not only free from oppreſſion, but were courted by their ſuperiors, whoſe power and importance were founded on their attachment and love.

But, by his acceſſion to the throne of England, James acquired ſuch an immenſe acceſſion of wealth, of power, and of ſplendor, that the nobles, aſtoniſhed and intimidated, thought it vain to ſtruggle for privileges which they were now unable to defend. Nor was it from fear alone that they ſubmitted to the yoke; James, partial to his countrymen, and willing that they ſhould partake of his good fortune, loaded them with riches and honours; and the hope of his favour concurred with the dread of his power, in taming their fierce and independent ſpirits. The will of the prince became the ſupreme law in Scotland; and the nobles ſtrove, with emulation, who ſhould moſt implicitly obey commands, which they had formerly been accuſtomed to contemn. Satisfied with having ſubjected the nobles to the crown, the king left them in full poſſeſſion of their ancient juriſdiction over their own vaſſals. The extenſive rights, veſted in a feudal chief, became in their hands dreadful inſtruments of oppreſſion, and the military ideas, on which theſe rights were founded, being gradually loſt or diſregarded, nothing remained to correct or to mitigate the rigour with which they were exerciſed. The nobles, exhauſting their fortunes by the expence of frequent attendance upon the Engliſh court, and by attempts to imitate the manners and luxury of their more wealthy neighbours, multiplied exactions upon the people, who durſt ſcarce utter complaints which they knew would never reach the ears of their ſovereign, nor move him to grant them any redreſs. And from the union of the crowns to the Revolution in 1688, Scotland was placed in a political ſituation, of all others the moſt ſingular and the moſt unhappy; ſubjected at once to the abſolute will of a monarch, and to the oppreſſive juriſdiction of an ariſtocracy, it ſuffered all the miſeries peculiar to both theſe forms of government. Its kings were deſpotic; its nobles were ſlaves and tyrants; and the people groaned under the rigorous domination of both.

During this period, the nobles, it is true, made one effort to ſhake off the yoke, and to regain their ancient independency. After the death of James, the Scottiſh

nation was no longer viewed by our monarchs with any partial affection. Charles I. educated among the Engliſh, diſcovered no peculiar attachment to the kingdom of which he was a native. And the nobles, perceiving the ſceptre to be now in hands leſs friendly, and ſwayed by a prince with whom they had little connection, and over whoſe councils they had little influence, no longer ſubmitted with the ſame implicit obedience. Provoked by ſome encroachments of the king on their order, and apprehenſive of others, the remains of their ancient ſpirit began to appear. They complained and remonſtrated. The people being, at the ſame time, violently diſguſted at the innovations in religion, the nobles ſecretly heightened this diſguſt; and their artifices, together with the ill conduct of the court, raiſed ſuch a ſpirit, that the whole nation took arms againſt their ſovereign, with an union and animoſity of which there had formerly been no example. Charles brought againſt them the forces of England, and notwithſtanding their own union, and the zeal of the people, the nobles muſt have ſunk in the ſtruggle. But the diſaffection which was growing among his Engliſh ſubjects, prevented the king from acting with vigour. A civil war broke out in both kingdoms; and after many battles and revolutions, which are well known, the Scottiſh nobles, who firſt began the war, were involved in the ſame ruin with the throne. At the Reſtoration, Charles II. regained full poſſeſſion of the royal prerogative in Scotland; and the nobles, whoſe eſtates were waſted, or their ſpirit broken, by the calamities to which they had been expoſed, were leſs able and leſs willing than ever to reſiſt the power of the crown. During this reign, and that of James VII. the dictates of the monarch were received in Scotland with moſt abject ſubmiſſion. The poverty to which many of the nobles were reduced, rendered them meaner ſlaves, and more intolerable tyrants than ever. The people, always neglected, were now odious, and loaded with every injury, on account of their attachment to religious and political principles, extremely repugnant to thoſe adopted by their princes.

The Revolution introduced other maxims into the government of Scotland. To increaſe the authority of the prince, or to ſecure the privileges of the nobles, had hitherto been almoſt the ſole object of our laws. The rights of the people were ſcarce ever mentioned, were diſregarded, or unknown. Attention began, henceforward, to be paid to the welfare of the people. By the *claim of right*, their liberties were ſecured; and the number of their repreſentatives being increaſed, they gradually acquired new weight and conſideration in parliament. As they came to enjoy more ſecurity and greater power, their minds began to open, and to form more extenſive plans of commerce, of induſtry, and of police. But the ariſtocratical ſpirit, which ſtill predominated, together with many other accidents, retarded the improvement and happineſs of the nation.

Another great event completed what the Revolution had begun. The political power of the nobles, already broken by the union of the two crowns, was almoſt annihilated by the union of the two kingdoms. Inſtead of making a part, as formerly, of the ſupreme aſſembly of the nation, inſtead of bearing the moſt conſiderable ſway there, the Scottiſh nobles are admitted into the Britiſh parliament by their repreſentatives only, and form but an inconſiderable part of one of thoſe bodies in which the legiſlative authority is veſted. They themſelves are excluded abſolutely from the houſe of commons, and even their eldeſt ſons are not permitted to repreſent their countrymen in that auguſt aſſembly. Nor have their feudal privileges remained to compenſate for this extinction of their political authority. As commerce advanced in its progreſs, and government attained nearer to perfection, theſe were inſenſibly circumſcribed, and at laſt, by laws no leſs ſalutary to the public, than fatal to the nobles, they have been almoſt totally aboliſhed. As the nobles were deprived of power, the people acquired liberty. Exempted from burdens to which they were formerly ſubject; ſcreened from oppreſſion, to which they had been long expoſed, and adopted into a conſtitution whoſe genius and laws were

more liberal than their own, they have extended their commerce, refined their manners, made improvements in the elegancies of life, and cultivated the arts and ſciences.

This ſurvey of the political ſtate of Scotland, in which events and their cauſes have been mentioned rather than developed, enables us to point out three æras, from each of which we may date ſome great alteration in one or other of the three different members of which the ſupreme legiſlative aſſembly in our conſtitution is compoſed. At the *acceſſion*, the kings of Scotland, once the moſt limited, became, in an inſtant, the moſt abſolute princes in Europe, and exerciſed a deſpotic authority, which their parliaments were unable to controul, or their nobles to reſiſt. At the *union*, the feudal ariſtocracy, which had ſubſiſted ſo many ages, and with power ſo exorbitant, was overturned, and the Scottiſh nobles, voluntarily ſurrendered rights and pre-eminences peculiar to their order, and reduced themſelves to a condition which is no longer the terror and envy of other ſubjects. *Since the union*, the commons anciently neglected by their kings, and deſpiſed by the nobles, have emerged into dignity; and, being admitted to a participation of all the privileges which the Engliſh had purchaſed at the expence of ſo much blood, muſt now be eſteemed a body no leſs conſiderable in the one kingdom, than they have long been in the other.

The church felt the effects of the abſolute power which the king acquired by his acceſſion; and its revolutions, too, are worthy of notice. James, during the latter years of his adminiſtration in Scotland, had revived the name and office of biſhops. But they poſſeſſed no eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction or pre-eminence; their revenues were inconſiderable, and they were ſcarce diſtinguiſhed by any thing but by their ſeat in parliament, and by being the object of the clergy's jealouſy, and the people's hatred. The king delighted with the ſplendor and authority which the Engliſh biſhops enjoyed, and eager to effect an union in eccleſiaſtical policy, which he had, in vain attempted in the civil government, reſolved to bring both churches to an exact conformity

with each other. Three Scotſmen were conſecrated biſhops at London. From them, their brethren were commanded to receive orders. Ceremonies unknown in Scotland were impoſed; and though the clergy, leſs obſequious than the nobles, boldly oppoſed theſe innovations, James, long practiſed and well ſkilled in the arts of managing them, obtained at length their compliance. But Charles I. a ſuperſtitious prince, unacquainted with the genius of the Scots, imprudent and precipitant in all the meaſures he purſued in that kingdom, preſſing too eagerly the reception of the Engliſh liturgy, and indiſcreetly attempting a reſumption of church lands, kindled the flames of civil war; and the people being left at liberty to indulge their own wiſhes, the epiſcopal church was overturned, and the preſbyterian government and diſcipline were re-eſtabliſhed with new vigour. Together with monarchy, epiſcopacy was reſtored in Scotland. A form of government, ſo odious to the people, required force to uphold it; and though the whole rigour of authority, and all the barbarity of perſecution were employed in its ſupport, the averſion of the nation was inſurmountable, and it ſubſiſted with difficulty. At the Revolution, the inclinations of the people were thought worthy the attention of the legiſlature, the preſbyterian government was again eſtabliſhed, and, being ratified by the union, is ſtill maintained in the kingdom.

Nor did the influence of the acceſſion extend to the civil and eccleſiaſtical conſtitutions alone; the genius of the nation, its taſte and ſpirit, things of a nature ſtill more delicate, were ſenſibly affected by that event. When learning revived in the fifteenth and ſixteenth centuries, all the modern languages were in a ſtate equally barbarous, devoid of elegance, of vigour, and even of perſpicuity. No author thought of writing in languages ſo ill adapted to expreſs and embelliſh his ſentiments, or of erecting a work for immortality with ſuch rude and periſhing materials. And as the ſpirit, which prevailed at that time, did not owe its riſe to any original effort of the human mind, but was excited by

admiration of the ancients, their compoſitions were eſteemed not only the ſtandards of taſte and of ſentiment, but of ſtyle; and even the languages in which they wrote were thought to be peculiar, and almoſt conſecrated to learning and the muſes. Not only the manner of the ancients was imitated, but their language copied: and, extravagant as the attempt may appear to write in a dead tongue, in which men were not accuſtomed to think, and which they could not ſpeak, nor even pronounce, the ſucceſs of it was aſtoniſhing. As they formed their ſtyle upon the pureſt models; as they were uninfected with thoſe barbariſms which the inaccuracy of familiar converſation, the affectation of courts, intercourſe with ſtrangers, and a thouſand other cauſes, introduce into living languages; many moderns have attained to a degree of elegance in their Latin compoſitions, which the Romans themſelves ſcarcely poſſeſſed beyond the limits of the Auguſtan age. While this was almoſt the only ſpecies of compoſition, and all authors, by uſing one common language, could be brought to a nearer compariſon, the Scottiſh writers were not inferior to thoſe of any other nation. The happy genius of Buchanan, equally formed to excel in proſe and in verſe, more various, more original, and more elegant, than that of almoſt any other modern who writes in Latin, reflects, with regard to this particular, the greateſt luſtre on his country.

But the labour attending the ſtudy of a dead tongue was irkſome, the unequal return for their induſtry which authors met with, who could be read and admired only within the narrow circle of the learned, was mortifying; and men, inſtead of waſting half their lives in learning the language of the Romans, began to refine and to poliſh their own. The modern tongues were found to be ſuſceptible of beauties and graces, which, if not equal to thoſe of the ancient ones were at leaſt more attainable. The Italians having firſt ſet the example, Latin was no longer uſed in the works of taſte; it was confined to books of ſcience; and the politer nations have baniſhed it even from theſe. The Scots, we may preſume, would have had no cauſe to regret this change

in the public taſte, and would ſtill have been able to maintain ſome equality with other nations, in their purſuit of literary honour. The Engliſh and Scottiſh languages, derived from the ſame ſources, were, at the end of the ſixteenth century, in a ſtate nearly ſimilar, differing from one another ſomewhat in orthography, though not only the words, but the idioms were much the ſame. The letters of ſeveral Scottiſh ſtateſmen of that age are not inferior in elegance, or in purity, to thoſe of the Engliſh miniſters with whom they correſponded. James himſelf was maſter of a ſtyle far from contemptible; and by his example and encouragement, the Scottiſh language might have kept pace with the Engliſh in refinement. Scotland might have had a ſeries of authors in its own, as well as in the Latin language, to boaſt of; and the improvements in taſte, in the arts, and in the ſciences, which ſpread over the other poliſhed nations of Europe, would not have been unknown there.

But, at the very time when other nations were beginning to drop the uſe of Latin in works of taſte, and to make trial of the ſtrength and compaſs of their own languages, Scotland ceaſed to be a kingdom. The tranſports of joy, which the acceſſion at firſt occaſioned were ſoon over: and the Scots, being at once deprived of all the objects that refine or animate a people; of the preſence of their prince, of the concourſe of nobles, of the ſplendor and elegance of a court, an univerſal dejection of ſpirit ſeems to have ſeized the nation. The court being withdrawn, no domeſtic ſtandard of propriety and correctneſs of ſpeech remained; the few compoſitions that Scotland produced were tried by the Engliſh ſtandard, and every word or phraſe that varied in the leaſt from that, was condemned as barbarous; whereas, if the two nations had continued diſtinct, each might have retained idioms and forms of ſpeech peculiar to itſelf; and theſe, rendered faſhionable by the example of a court, and ſupported by the authority of writers of reputation, would have been conſidered in the ſame light with the varieties occaſioned by the different dialects in the Greek tongue; would have been conſidered as

beauties; and, in many caſes, might have been uſed promiſcuouſly by the authors of both nations. But, by the acceſſion, the Engliſh naturally became the ſole judges and lawgivers in language, and rejected as ſoleciſms, every form of ſpeech to which their ear was not accuſtomed. Nor did the Scots, while the intercourſe between the two nations was inconſiderable*, and ancient prejudices were ſtill ſo violent as to prevent imitation, poſſeſs the means of refining their own tongue according to the purity of the Engliſh ſtandard. On the contrary, new corruptions flowed into it from every different ſource. The clergy of Scotland, in that age, were more eminent for piety than for learning; and though there did not ariſe many authors among them, yet being in poſſeſſion of the privilege of diſcourſing publicly to the people, and their ſermons being too long, and perhaps too frequent, ſuch haſty productions could not be elegant, and many ſlovenly and incorrect modes of expreſſion may be traced back to that original. The pleadings of lawyers were equally looſe and inaccurate, and that profeſſion having furniſhed more authors, and the matters of which they treat mingling daily in common diſcourſe and buſineſs, many of thoſe vicious forms of ſpeech, which are denominated Scotticiſms, have been

* A remarkable proof of the little intercourſe between the Engliſh and Scots before the union of the crowns, is to be found in two curious papers, one publiſhed by Haynes, the other by Strype. In the year 1567, Elizabeth commanded the biſhop of London to take a ſurvey of all the ſtrangers within the cities of London and Weſtminſter. By this report, which is very minute, it appears that the whole number of Scots at that time was 58. Haynes, 455. A ſurvey of the ſame kind was made by Sir Thomas Row, lord mayor; A. D. 1568. The number of Scots had then increaſed to 88. Strype, iv. Supplement, No. I. On the acceſſion of James, a conſiderable number of Scots, eſpecially of the higher rank, reſorted to England; but it was not till the union that the intercourſe between the two kingdoms became great.

by them introduced into the language. Nor did either the language or public taſte receive any improvement in parliament, where a more liberal and more correct eloquence might have been expected. All buſineſs was tranſacted there by the lords of articles, and they were ſo ſervilely devoted to the court, that few debates aroſe, and, none were conducted with the ſpirit and vigour natural to a popular aſſembly.

Thus, during the whole ſeventeenth century, the Engliſh were gradually refining their language and their taſte; in Scotland the former was much debaſed, and the latter almoſt entirely loſt. In the beginning of that period, both nations were emerging out of barbarity; but the diſtance between them, which was then inconſiderable, became, before the end of it, immenſe. Even after ſcience had once dawned upon them, the Scots ſeemed to be ſinking back into ignorance and obſcurity; and active and intelligent as they naturally are, they continued, while other nations were eager in the purſuit of fame and knowledge, in a ſtate of languor and ſtupefaction. This, however, muſt be imputed to the unhappineſs of their political ſituation, not to any defect of genius; for no ſooner was the one removed in any degree, than the other began to diſplay itſelf. The act aboliſhing the power of the lords of articles, and other ſalutary laws paſſed at the Revolution, having introduced freedom of debate into the Scottiſh parliament, eloquence, with all the arts that accompany or perfect it, became immediate objects of attention; and the example of Fletcher of Salton alone is ſufficient to ſhew that the Scots were ſtill capable of generous ſentiments, and, notwithſtanding ſome peculiar idioms, were able to expreſs themſelves with energy, and with elegance.

At length the union having incorporated the two nations, and rendered them one people, the diſtinctions which had ſubſiſted for many ages gradually wear away; peculiarities diſappear; the ſame manners prevail in both parts of the iſland; the ſame authors are read and admired; the ſame entertainments are frequented by the elegant and polite; and the ſame ſtandard of

taſte, and of purity in language, is eſtabliſhed. And the Scots, after being placed, during a whole century, in a ſituation no leſs fatal to the liberty than to the taſte and genius of the nation, were at once put in poſſeſſion of privileges more valuable than thoſe which their anceſtors had formerly enjoyed; and every obſtruction that had retarded their purſuit, or prevented their acquiſition or literary fame, was totally removed.

END OF VOLUME SECOND.

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